



The Heritage of Islamic Tradition and
Area Studies

Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies

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IAIN Raden Intan Lampung, November 1st-4th, 2016

ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
ON ISLAMIC STUDIES

AICIS 2016



The Contribution of Indonesian Islam
to The World Civilization



Organized by
Kementerian Agama RI
IAIN Raden Intan Lampung
Supported by
Pemprov Lampung

PROCEEDING OF

THE 16TH ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON ISLAMIC STUDIES

Theme

**The Contribution of Indonesian Islam
To The World Civilization**

Sub Theme 3

The Heritage of Islamic Tradition

***Sub Theme 6
Area Studies***

**IAIN Raden Intan Lampung
November 1-4, 2016**

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- Kata Pengantar -

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Buku ini berisi proceeding *selected paper* yang dipresentasikan pada AICIS ke-16 pada tanggal 1-4 November 2016 di IAIN Raden Intan Lampung. Berdasarkan catatan panitia bahwa jumlah *submitted paper* pada AICIS tahun ini sebanyak 1345, kemudian dilakukan seleksi oleh Tim SC dan diputuskan sebanyak 350 makalah yang dapat dipresentasikan dalam forum ini. Dari tiga ratus lima puluh dibagi menjadi dua kategori, yaitu *pertama*, kategori A (*selected presenter*) terdapat 120 makalah yang wajib dipresentasikan dalam forum paralel AICIS 2016 yang ditanggung oleh panitia. *Kedua*, kategori B terdapat 230 yang diberi kesempatan untuk mempresentasikan papernya pada forum paralel namun atas tanggungan atau biaya pribadi atau lembaga.

Sebagaimana lazimnya dalam sebuah konferensi, biasanya panitia selalu menerbitkan buku proceeding yang berisi kumpulan makalah yang dipresentasikan dalam forum tersebut. Begitu juga pada AICIS ke-16 kali ini, seluruh makalah kategori A sebanyak 120 diterbitkan menjadi buku ini.

Buku ini terdiri dari 4 buku, yaitu Buku 1 yang berisi gabungan makalah sub tema 1 (*The dynamics of Islamic Thought*) dan 5 (*Islam, Science and Technology*); Buku 2 berisi kumpulan makalah sub tema 2 (*The Dynamics of Islamic Institution*); Buku 3 berisi gabungan makalah sub tema 3 (*The Heritage of Islamic Traditions*) dan 6 (*Area Studies*); dan Buku 4 berisi kumpulan makalah sub tema 4 (*The Interface between Islam and Globalization*). Selain itu, panitia juga akan menerbitkan pada jurnal ilmiah yang terindeks *scopus* setelah melalui penyempurnaan dan perbaikan supaya spektrumnya lebih besar dan dapat dibaca oleh masyarakat dunia.

Untuk itu, kami atas nama panitia mengucapkan terima kasih kepada seluruh presenter yang telah melengkapi tulisannya sesuai yang telah ditentukan oleh panitia dan juga kepada Tim SC yang telah dengan sabar dan teliti membaca satu per satu makalah yang masuk kemudian memilih dan memutuskan berdasarkan kategori A dan B. Terima kasih juga kami sampaikan kepada Bapak Rektor IAIN Raden Intan Lampung yang terus mensupport dan membekali panitia untuk bekerja semaksimal mungkin demi suksesnya AICIS ke-16 ini. Tak lupa kepada Bapak Dirjen Pendis, Prof. Dr. Phil. H. Kamaruddin Amin, MA dan Bapak Direktur Diktis, Prof. Dr. H. Amsal Bachtiar, MA yang telah mempercayakan penyelenggaraan AICIS ke-16 di IAIN Raden Intan Lampung.

Saya atas nama seluruh panitia mengucapkan selamat datang di “*Green Campus*” IAIN Raden Intan Lampung dan selamat berkonferensi.
Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Bandar Lampung, Oktober 2016
 Ketua Panitia,

Prof. Wan Jamaluddin Z., Ph.D

Sambutan

Kepala Sub Direktorat Akademik dan Kemahasiswaan

Assalamu Alaikum Wr. Wb.

Pelaksanaan AICIS ke-16 tahun 2016 kali ini yang bertempat di Institut Agama Islam Negeri (IAIN) Raden Intan Lampung merupakan momentum dalam menjaga kesinambungan dan komitmen pengelolaan pendidikan Islam di tingkat perguruan tinggi. Sebagai salah satu wahana dalam pengembangan jaringan dan juga penguatan wacana untuk mendukung riset dan publikasi, maka pelaksanaan AICIS merupakan kegiatan yang sangat strategis dalam rangka mewujudkan perguruan tinggi yang berdaya saing.

Pendidikan tinggi saat ini menghadapi tantangan yang berbeda sama sekali dengan di zaman sebelumnya. Untuk menghadapi itu semua, maka hanya dengan kolaborasi dan kerjasama antara semua lembaga yang ada sehingga mampu mewujudkan sebuah capaian akademik yang memungkinkan. Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Islam menjadi salah satu pilar untuk mewujudkan amanah yang diemban Kementerian Agama RI. Salah satu usaha yang berkesinambungan adalah pelaksanaan AICIS dari tahun ketahun. Tema tahun ini, Panitia Pengarah (*Steering Committee*) telah merumuskan tentang sumbangsih Islam Indonesia terhadap peradaban dunia.

Pendidikan tinggi Islam walau belum berstatus sebagai universitas riset, tetapi prinsip-prinsip yang dikembangkan dalam pengelolaan perguruan tinggi mulai mengarah kepada pengembangan atmosfir riset. Untuk itu, forum AICIS dimaksudkan juga sebuah wahana untuk menjadi salah satu sarana dalam mengkomunikasikan hasil-hasil riset yang selama ini sudah dilaksanakan oleh setiap dosen di seluruh perguruan tinggi keagamaan Islam.

Terima kasih juga kepada segenap panitia yang sudah bekerja untuk kesuksesan kegiatan ini sehingga bisa menjadi sebuah kegiatan yang berkesinambungan dari waktu ke waktu. Untuk itu, semoga kesempatan ini menjadi salah satu kesempatan terbaik untuk senantiasa menjadi ikhtiar bagi pengembangan pendidikan tinggi Islam.

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb

Jakarta, Oktober 2016

Subdit Akademik dan Kemahasiswaan
Kepala,

Dr. Muhammad

Sambutan

Rektor IAIN Raden Intan Lampung

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Pertama-tama saya ingin mengucapkan terima kasih kepada semua pihak yang telah memberikan kesempatan berharga kepada IAIN Raden Intan Lampung untuk menjadi penyelenggara AICIS ke-16 tahun 2016 ini. Kami dan seluruh civitas akademika IAIN Raden Intan Lampung menyambut baik dan gembira hal itu serta berkomitmen untuk menukirkannya dengan seluruh kemampuan dan sumber daya yang ada. Untuk mewujudkan komitmen tersebut, kami telah mempersiapkan dengan baik seluruh kebutuhan sarana dan prasarana demi suksesnya acara tersebut.

Pada AICIS tahun ini mungkin akan dirasakan kesan yang berbeda karena penyelenggaraan kegiatan AICIS tidak seluruhnya di hotel melainkan di area kampus IAIN Raden Intan Lampung mulai dari *plenary session* maupun *parallel session* kecuali upacara pembukaan. Oleh karena itu, seluruh peserta AICIS ke-16 mulai dari pagi sampai sore akan beraktivitas di area kampus kami untuk mengikuti setiap kegiatan yang ada sambil menikmati suasana hijau kampus (“*green kampus*”) kami.

Dalam kesempatan ini saya ingin mengucapkan terim kasih kepada Bapak Dirjen Pendis, Prof. Dr. Phil. H. Kamaruddin Amin, MA dan Direktur Diktis, Prof. Dr. H. Amsal Bakhtiar, MA yang telah mempercayakan kepada kami sebagai tuan rumah AICIS ke-16 ini. Kepada Gubernur Lampung Bapak Muhammad Ridho Ficardo, S.Pi, M.Si yang telah memberi dukungan penuh demi terselenggaranya AICIS ini.

Penghargaan juga saya sampaikan kepada seluruh panitia baik pusat maupun lokal yang tidak dapat saya sebutkan satu per satu dimana telah saling bekerjasama dalam menukirkannya acara ini.

Namun saya juga ingin memohon maaf kepada seluruh peserta konferensi, jika selama dalam penyelenggaraan AICIS ada hal-hal yang kurang berkenan baik mulai dari fasilitas, sarana dan prasarana maupun layanan. Mudah-mudahan dengan fasilitas yang ada seluruh peserta dapat menikmati dan memanfaatkannya sekalipun sangat terbatas.

Terakhir, saya sangat menyambut baik terbitnya proceeding ini yang tidak hanya sebagai dokumen penting seluruh kumpulan makalah yang dipresentasikan juga bisa menjadi buku referensi bagi perkembangan dan dinamika kajian islam di Indonesia. Selamat membaca..

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Bandar Lampung, Oktober 2016
IAIN Raden Intan
Rektor,

Prof. Dr. H. Moh. Mukri, M.Ag

Sambutan

Direktur Pendidikan Tinggi Islam

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies (AICIS) tanpa disadari telah memasuki tahun yang ke-16. Artinya tanpa disadari pula para peminat kajian Islam telah banyak memberikan kontribusi pemikirannya melalui forum ini. Dalam kurun waktu tersebut telah banyak rumusan-rumusan yang dihasilkan selain juga presentasi paper hasil penelitian maupun pemikiran dari para peminat dan pengkaji kajian Islam. Maka tak salah jika kita harus berbangga hati bahwa AICIS telah menjadi arena akademis PTKI yang mempertemukan berbagai latar belakang disiplin ilmu, pemikiran dan keahlian, selain juga menjadi arena yang representatif dalam mensosialisasikan gagasan, penyebaran ide dan *positioning* PTKI dalam kancah global.

Mengingat forum semacam AICIS telah menjadi *icon* bagi Kementerian Agama RI terutama Pendidikan Tinggi Islam, maka dalam setiap penyelenggaraan AICIS selalu ada dinamika yang terjadi sesuai dengan keberadaan PTKIN yang menjadi tuan rumah penyelenggaranya. Dan hal yang patut disyukuri adalah dalam setiap penyelenggaraan AICIS jumlah paper yang masuk selalu melampaui target. Ini menunjukkan ga'irah para peminat kajian keislaman yang ingin turut serta dalam meramaikan forum ini setiap tahunnya sangat tinggi. Tahun ini saja menurut catatan panitia terdapat 1345 *submitted paper*, namun setelah dilakukan seleksi diputuskan ada 350 makalah yang akan dipresentasikan dalam forum ini.

Sebagai salah satu sarana mempublikasikan makalah-makalah yang terpilih tersebut, maka panitia membuatkan *proceeding* ini selain sebagai bahan referensi juga menjadi bahan dokumentasi makalah-makalah yang dipresentasikan dalam AICIS.

Saya menyambut baik diterbitkannya buku *proceeding* ini oleh panitia AICIS ke-16 IAIN Raden Intan Lampung. Mudah-mudahan selain membantu para peserta AICIS dalam mediskusikan beragam topik baik plenari maupun paralel juga sebagai media diseminasi ide maupun gagasan para pengkaji kajian keislaman kepada publik secara luas..

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Jakarta, Oktober 2016

Direktorat Pendidikan Tinggi Islam
Direktur,

Prof. Dr. H. Amsal Bakhtiar, M.A

Sambutan

Direktur Jenderal Pendidikan Islam

Assalamu'alaikum Wr. Wb.

Sebagai event yang bergengsi di lingkungan Direktorat Pendidikan Islam, AICIS (*Annual International Conference on Islamic Studies*) telah membuktikan bahwa para dosen, peneliti dan pengkaji Islam terutama di lingkungan PTKI mampu menelorkan gagasan, pikiran dan temuan yang brilian dengan topik dan tema yang relevan dengan perkembangan situasi sekarang ini dalam perspektif keislaman. Dalam setiap event AICIS selalu ada hal-hal terbaru yang terungkap dalam kajiannya sehingga selalu menarik untuk diikuti oleh peserta yang hadir dalam setiap sesionnya.

AICIS selain memang merupakan pertemuan tahunan dalam mendialogkan hasil-hasil *research* terbaru untuk bisa dibaca, dikritisi dan diuji oleh sesama pengkaji dan pemerhati kajian keislaman, juga telah menjadi media membangun *intellectual networking* baik lokal maupun internasional. Di sinilah urgensi kenapa AICIS tetap dipertahankan keberadaannya sampai sekarang karena AICIS telah mampu membuktikan sebagai wadah yang representatif bagi diseminasi hasil-hasil kajian Islam kepada publik.

Tren yang selalu menggembirakan dalam setiap AICIS adalah kuantitas *submitted paper* selalu meningkat dari tahun ke tahun. Ini membuktikan bahwa AICIS telah mempunyai tempat tersendiri di kalangan pengkaji kajian Islam di PTKI bahkan tak jarang ada peserta dari perguruan tinggi umum yang ikut ambil bagian dalam forum ini.

Saya selalu mengharapkan kepada panitia penyelenggara supaya paper yang akan dipresentasikan bisa dicetak, diterbitkan dan di-onlinekan supaya dapat dinikmati oleh komunitas akademik yang lebih luas tidak hanya oleh komunitas internal kita saja melainkan komunitas internasional.

Dan syukur alhamdulilah pada AICIS ke-16 ini, IAIN Raden Intan Lampung telah bersedia menerbitkan menjadi proceeding ini. Mudah-mudahan dapat memberi kemudahan para peserta AICIS ke-16 dalam menyimak setiap tulisan yang dipresentasikan dalam forum ini.

Tak lupa pada kesempatan ini, ijinkanlah saya ingin mengucapkan terima kasih kepada Menteri Agama RI yang selalu antusias dan memberikan perhatian serius pada setiap penyelenggaraan AICIS. Juga kepada Gubernur Lampung, Muhammad Ridho Ficardo, S.Pi, M.Si yang telah memberi dukungan atas terselenggaranya AICIS di IAIN Raden Intan Lampung. Dan tak lupa Rektor IAIN Raden Intan Lampung, Prof. Dr. H. Moh. Mukri, M.Ag beserta seluruh jajarannya yang tak kenal lelah dalam menyiapkan perhelatan besar ini dengan baik. Kepada seluruh panitia pusat dan daerah tak lupa saya sampaikan terima kasih atas kerjasamanya baik demi suksesnya acara ini. Terakhir kepada seluruh narasumber baik dalam

maupun luar negeri, partisipan dan peminat kajian keislaman yang hadir untuk menyemarakkan AICIS ke-16 ini, saya ucapkan terima kasih atas keikutsertaan dalam forum ini.

Selamat berkonferensi..!!

Wassalamu'alaikum Wr.Wb.

Jakarta, Oktober 2016

Direktorat Pendidikan Islam
Direktur Jenderal,

Prof. Dr. Phil. H. Kamaruddin Amin, MA

Daftar Isi

- Kata Pengantar - iii
 Sambutan Rektor - iv
 Sambutan Direktur Diktis - v
 Sambutan Dirjen Pendis - vi
 Daftar Isi - viii

Sub Theme 3 & 6: The Heritage of Islamic Traditions and Area Studies

1.	Fakhriati M. Thahir	Interconnection And Local Wisdom Of Malay And Arabs Ulamas Works: Study On Malay And Arabic Manuscripts' Papers	1-14
2.	M. Ikhsan Tanggok	Aktivitas Umat Islam Di Dalam Kelenteng Ancol Jakarta	15-34
3.	Syofyan Hadi	مساهمات علماء الأرخبيل في ابتكاع أوزان الشعر العربي وقوافيها: دراسة أسلوبية عن مخطوطات الأشعار للعلماء الملاين كابوين	35-48
4.	Idrus Ruslan	Dimensi Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Lampung Sebagai Media Resolusi Konflik	49-62
5.	Syamsul Rijal	Internal Dynamics Within Hadhrami Arabs In Indonesia: From Social Hierarchy To Islamic Doctrine	63-81
6.	Wahyuddin Halim	Anrégurutta Haji Muhammad As'ad Al- Bugisy (1907-1952) And The Role Of His Pesantren In The Maintenance Of Bugis Identity And Literacy In South Sulawesi	82-101
7.	Wasilah dan Mohammad Sabri	Bugis-Makassar Culture And Islamic Acculturation In The Moslem's Building Of Tallo Village	102-117
8.	Syamsun Ni'am	Dekultusasi Wali Dalam Tradisi Tarekat (Studi tentang Konsep Kewalian Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dan Pengaruhnya Di Nusantara)	118-135

9.	Misrita	Oloh Salam: An Islamic Dayak Identity In Central Kalimantan	136-146
10.	Mansur	Kuliwa: Islam Dan Tradisi Lokal Nelayan Mandar Di Pampusuang Sulawesi Barat	147-156
11.	Noor Achmad and Nanang Nurcholis	A Socio-Historical Approach To Hinduism: From Pre-Islamic Times To The Prophet Muhammad Era	157-172
12.	Lien Iffah Nafatu Fina	Southeast Asian Islamic Art And Architecture: Re-Examining The Claim Of The Unity And Universality Of Islamic Art	173-187
13.	Pujiati	تراث التقليد الإسلامي في الحكمة المحلية فنون السلام عليه والمساهمات لتشكيل الشخصية الوطنية الاندونيسية	188-199

Sub Theme 6 : Area Studies

1.	Roma Ulinnuha	Urban Ulama, Social Healing, And Peace: An Interdisciplinary Study On Mamade Kadreebux's Friends Of Friday Community And Activism As Muslim Minorities Post 9/11 Turmoil In Bay Area, California, United States	201-216
2.	Abdul Manan	Islamic Shari'a Laws In Aceh (Reality And Public Perception Toward The Implementation Of Islamic Shari'a Law In The Capital City Of Aceh, Banda Aceh)	217-231
3.	Budi Juliandi	المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى	232-243
4.	M. Khoirul Hadi Al-Asty Ari and Thoat Hariyanto	Islamic Philosophy: The Study Of Philosophy Ethics In View Of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi And Its Implementation In The Global Moral Ethic	244-274

THE HERITAGE OF ISLAMIC TRADITIONS

INTERCONNECTION AND LOCAL WISDOM OF MALAY AND ARABS ULAMAS WORKS: STUDY ON MALAY AND ARABIC MANUSCRIPTS' PAPERS

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Abstract: *Malay and Arabs are two continents, located in different area, Southeast Asia and Middle East. Historically, writers as ulamas (religious prominent figures) tended to use watermarked papers for writing many things both related to religious, historical knowledge, and also their experience. Looking at the manuscripts existing nowadays, almost all Malay and Arabic manuscripts' papers have unique and similar watermark images and countermark inside. It cannot be denied that historical background and context appeared behind the papers. Historically, the relationship among the countries since the coming of Islam to Malay -- that was in Aceh at the first -- gave the effect of produced and using the papers. Trade and diplomatic relation can be assumed as the biggest factor taken places in this aspect. Besides, Western countries also took important role in exporting their paper to other countries. In addition, they had colonized some Muslims countries both Southeast Asian and Middle East. As the most popular producers of watermark images, Western countries also exported their papers to other countries, including their colonized countries. This paper tries to elaborate ulamas' paper in these two nations in its similarity and diversity to find local wisdom inside. Thereafter, to analyze the relationship among the countries is another focus of this paper. This paper tries to use Philological, Codicological, and Socio-historical approach in dealing with the content and physics of the manuscripts, and its historical context.*

Keywords: Ulama, Paper, Watermarks, Malay, and Arab

Introduction

Basically, Malay and Arab are two different areas, from geographic, ethnic, language, and cultural aspects. From geographical side, Malay and Arab are separated by Indian sub-continent and some other countries stretching along the Indian Ocean coastline of thousands of kilometres. Meanwhile, the culture and language also have substantially different roots. The cultural characteristics of Arab people, who mostly live in barren desert, make them look tougher than Malay people residing in fertile areas and tropical forests. However, the two areas have long been connected by trade interests and the same religion. Malay's geographic location in an archipelagic area and its long

history as a trade course between nations have made its people more open to foreign culture.

Upon Islam presence, the relationship between Malay and Arab people seems more special than that between Malay and Europeans coming to Malay. Interaction between Malays and Arabs or Haramayn is very close and binding, which has materialized in trade, intellectual, religious, and marital relationships, the last of which deliver descendants mixed between one country and another.

In terms of intellectuality, many *ulama* of Malay travelled and stayed for a long time to learn and study under famous *ulama* in Arab. They then brought their knowledge to their country and spread it to their relatives. In addition, the proximity and concern of *ulama* in the Middle East and Malay had coined the term *Malay* as called by Jawi people. Moreover, they devoted their attention to the intellectual development in Malay. For example, Ibrahim Kurani wrote a book titled *Ithaf az-Zaki* explaining intellectual development in Malay.¹

The interaction contributes to the development of works produced by *ulama* in Malay and Arab. In their works, *ulama* in Malay generally refer to books of *ulama* in Arab by citing, translating, and transliterating their books. Interaction is also evident from the physical shape of Malay and Arab manuscripts. This essay attempts to describe such interaction by elaborating the type of paper they used and the reasons for the correlation and even 'dependence'.

Writing Tradition of Arab and Malay *Ulama*

Prose, poems, knowledge, information, records, and different letters started long before Islam coming because written works served as consistently developed and delivered means of communication. Arab leaders also put their ideas into their writing in the form of lyrics entered into a competition. Al-Qur'an in the Prophet's era had also been made even though it was written in sheets. Therefore, writing tradition had developed in the past.

Upon establishment of relationship between Malay and Arab *ulama*, as a relationship between a teacher and student, works about Islamic issues became popular among Jawi *ulama*, an alias of Malay *ulama* given by Arab *ulama*. Moreover, Kurani, as an Arab *ulama*, had also written about Malay, as explained in the introduction hereof.

In their writing, *ulama* tended to have similarity in terms of writing style, presentation method, and even physical appearance. It might be concluded that Malay *ulama* or authors adopted writing style and model used in Arab tradition, besides, they also absorbed local traditions around them developed in their time. For example, Malay manuscripts usually have a long introduction, and the author tended to act humble in front of their readers. The common expressions found in Malay manuscripts are such "low figure" and "indigent figure".

¹ See a work of Oman Fathurahman in *Ithaf al-Dhaki: Tafsir Wahdatul Wujud bagi Muslim Nusantara*, 2012.

Furthermore, in Malay manuscripts, the author more often did not wish to write their name, so called anonym.

There was also the Ottoman influence in the *seal* of Sultan Alaidin Riayat Syah in Acehnese manuscripts. In the seal, different from other style, a tiny heart shaped like plaited knot was found as an ornament in the inscriptions. Adopting the tradition of Ottoman Empire in the 16th century is a concrete example of interaction between Malay and Arabs.² To write the manuscripts, authors and re-writers used ink on Arab manuscripts, combined with the materials they had in their locations. According to Adam Gacek, ink for Arab manuscripts came from different plants, such as soot and mixed egg whites and milk. (Gacek, 2012:132-135). Ink used on Arab manuscripts in Indonesia is made of plants around the ink makers and the authors. Soot, resin from *Ketereh* tree, and purple color from *Senduduk* flower became the raw materials to make ink in Malay. (Proudfoot, 1996:70).

Similarly, similarity would also be found on the papers used in spite of the difference. Detailed description of manuscripts focused on this study will be provided in the following sub-chapter.

Materials Used for Writing

The common material used by *ulama* as religious figures to express their ideas is paper. Nevertheless, before paper was created, they tended to use other materials for writing, such as parchments, animal skin, and tree bark.

From time to time, more *ulama* write about knowledge and provide useful information through writing. Therefore, the more developed *ulama*'s hand writing, the more rapidly spread paper used. Papers used in this area varied. It starts from domestically used paper which is more popularly known as traditional paper, as well as foreign paper more popularly known as imported paper.

1. About Arab manuscripts

Before paper became popular, the materials commonly used in Arab was parchment made from animal skin, such as sheep, goats, and even camels. Such materials had been used from at least 1000 B. C.³ The oldest manuscript of Qur'an stored in Tübingen University, Germany, serves as evidence that animal skin was used in the early Islam period. The Al-Qur'an manuscript -- upon carbon test to know the age with 95.4% accuracy -- was allegedly used in the Khulafaurrasyidin period, i.e. Ali bin Abi Thalib period, from 649 to 675 AD.⁴ In addition to write texts, animal skin was also used for cover and binding.

Paper, which was used as a writing material in the beginning in around 105 A.D, was produced by a Chinese person, Ts'ai Lun with bamboo as a basic material. It was then introduced to the world in 2H/8AD. Paper was spread rapidly with the establishment of the first paper factory in Samarkand, primarily

²See Annabel teh Gallop in 2004, "Ottoman influences in the Seal of Sultan Alauddin Riayat Syah of Aceh (r.1589–1604)", in *Indonesia and the Malay World*, 32:93, 176-190.

³ Adam Gacek, *Arab manuscripts A Vademeum for Readers*, 2012, 195.

⁴Republika Newspaper, 24 July 2015, p. 1 and 6.

Samarqand and Baghdad. Furthermore, in the period of Harun ar-Rasyid 170-193H/786-809AD, paper was used in the government.⁵ In 4H/10AD, paper was made of papyrus, a plant of 3-6 meter tall. This plant grew around the Nile River. In the next century, Arab paper was exported to Europe until 8h/14AD. However, after that European papers entered Arab, which was sponsored by Italy.⁶

The first watermarked paper was popular in 1293 from Fibriano, Italy. In 10H/16M, more papers were supplied in Turkish Usmani kingdom, followed by France and became the competitor of Italy. In the middle of 11H/17AD, watermark was replaced by three crescents, probably at the request of the kingdom.⁷

A significant difference between European and Middle East papers is that European paper has watermark, while other papers do not. European papers may be divided into those made by hand before 1800AD and by machine after that. European paper has chain lines with regular interval and laid lines with fixed distance from 25 to 30 mm. Meanwhile, Middle East paper has irregular thick lines which are not straight from 30 to 90 mm and frequently double and colourful thin lines. In addition, European paper also consists of woven paper found in 1755 and produced in more volume at the end of the 18th century and mostly used in the 19th century. The paper has scratched appearance because it was made of weak-structured pulp. The paper does not have thin and rough lines. The paper sometimes contained colourless stamp, making a figure or writing protrude upwards and touchable, which Gacek called imitation watermark.⁸

In addition, there is a marble paper used to cover and bind manuscripts. This paper was first used and appeared in Iran in 9H/15AD. This paper was also once exported to Europe and imitated by Europeans from the 16th century. [9]

Watermarked papers in Arab manuscripts commonly used Islamic characters, such as crescent and Arab manuscripts. In addition, other European images were also found as the example provided below.¹⁰

⁵ Adam Gacek, *Arab manuscripts*, 2012, 186; Doroche, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, 2005, 51.

⁶ Adam Gacek, *Arab manuscripts*, 2012, 186-193.

⁷ Adam Gacek, *Arab manuscripts*, 2012, 291.

⁸ Adam Gacek, *Arab manuscripts*, 2012, 292.

⁹ It is understandable that Arabs were able to create many types of papers used for writing manuscripts and able to export their paper to Europe, because they had succeeded to reach the golden ages in its history to success the life, such as intellectual golden ages and also for their Empire, like Ottoman Empire. Firas Alkhateeb, *Lost Islamic History: Reclaiming Muslim Civilisation from the Past*, 2014, 63-87,161-163.

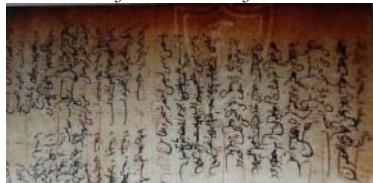
¹⁰Humbert, 2012, 'Manuscrits Arabes et Filigranes', in *IPH Congress book*, Vol. 19, Denmark: Copenhagen.



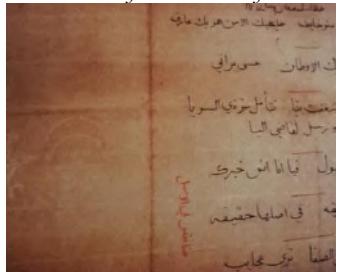
European image of watermark from Humbert's article, page 137



Arabic characters of watermark from Humbert's article, page 138¹¹



Moon face in shield of watermark from Humbert's article, page 139



Crescent and star of watermark from Humbert's article, page 141

2. Malay Manuscripts

There are two categories of papers used for Malay manuscripts, traditional paper made from their own area and imported paper mostly from Europe. Local paper used was made of tree bark, which was called *dluwang* paper usually used for manuscripts in Java, made of leaf, called *lontar* usually found in manuscripts from Sulawesi and Sasak, and bamboo and animal skin

¹¹ See also the article on the 'Abu Shubbak' papers by Anne Regourd in Anne Regourd, "Les papiers Abū Šubbāk au Yémen et en Éthiopie", dans : A. Regourd (éd.), *Documents et Histoire/Documents and History. Papier à marques en caractères non-latins/Papers bearing watermarks in non-Latin characters*, Submitted to Leiden, E. J. Brill.

for manuscripts from Kerinci.¹² Meanwhile, in other places like in Aceh, the manuscripts mostly used European paper although there are also manuscripts made of tree bark marked with many fibres on the paper. The Acehnese manuscripts using the tree bark are stored in Dayah Tanoh Abee, entitled *Al-Futuṣat al-Rabbaniyyah* and *Dalīl ilul Khairat*.

European paper used for Malay manuscripts has its own certain criteria with watermark and countermark, laid lines and chain lines, and plain paper. For watermark paper, images that frequently found are *propatria* which came from Holland.¹³ The image is as follows.



Images of Malay manuscript collected by National Library, Jakarta. Photo: taken by Staff in National Library.

However, three crescents and moon face in shield are, respectively, images most frequently appeared in Islamic manuscripts written either in Malay, Arabic or other local languages, such as Acehnese and Buginese. The images are as follows:



¹² Uli Kozok, *Kitab Undang-undang Tanjung Tanah: Naskah Melayu Tertua*, 2006, 138-141.

¹³ Based on research done in Aceh and National Library in Jakarta, it is indicated that Malay people frequently used watermarked papers from Holland since they were colonized by the Dutch.



Images of Acehnese manuscript collected individually in Pidie, Aceh. Photo: Taken by Fakhriati in Pidie.

In addition to the watermark images above, Malay manuscripts also have another images of watermarks, that is Arabic letters, such as "Aba Syabkin". This watermark is also existed in manuscripts from Arab. The figures are as follows:

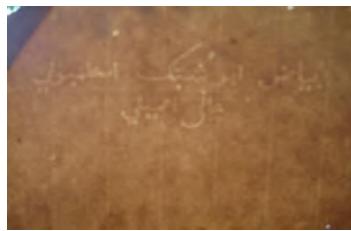


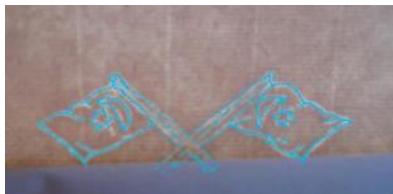
Image of Acehnese manuscript collected individually in Aceh Besar. Photo: Taken by Fakhriati in Aceh Besar.

Moreover, other images are also found on papers used for Malay manuscripts, i.e. plant of rice and two crossing flags. The manuscripts used the watermark paper with plant of rice image was found in Aceh. The image is as follows:



Image of Acehnese manuscript collected individually in Aceh Besar. Photo: Taken by Fakhriati in Aceh Besar.

For two crossing flags' image is existed in South and West Sulawesi manuscripts. The figures are as follows:



Images from Makasar manuscript, South Sulawesi. Photo: taken by Husnul Fahimah, a Researcher from Makasar.

In other manuscripts, Husnul also found the same image of watermark as above, and also script written *Salim Nabhan* as countermark.¹⁴ Undeniably, these words referred to a name of the founder of the oldest bookstore in East Java located in Surabaya from 1908, whose name is Salim Nabhan, and his full name is Salim bin Sa'ad Nabhan.¹⁵ He also ordered papers to Germany to facilitate local *ulama* to write, print, and publish.¹⁶ In this order, he was assumed to order a special logo containing his name. It then made sense when watermarks were also found in other areas according to the location. In *Doa-doa* from South Africa, Cape Town, for example, countermark containing *Colony of Cape Good Hope* was found.¹⁷ It shows that watermarks and countermark were mostly made as ordered by the paper consumers, such as the papers ordered by Salim Nabhan.

It was also found that papers for Malay and Arab manuscripts coming from Europe did not contain watermarks and countermarks, but only chain and laid lines. The paper model has two criteria: line with shadow and line without shadow. The images are as follows:

¹⁴ Husnul Fahimah, *Lontarak Sugkuna Wajo: Telaah Ulang Awal Islamisasi di Wajo*, 2011, 50-51.

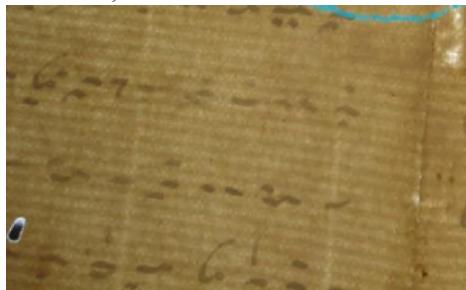
¹⁵ Salim Nabhan was an Arab traveling to Surabaya at the beginning of the 20th century. Salim Nabhan was the biggest seller and publisher in Surabaya, as also found in other big publishers in Cirebon, Abdulah bin Afif, and in Singapore, Sulayman Mar'i. They were Arabs ordering books from Egypt for sale in Indonesia at a cheaper price than books in Indonesia, since there were very few Arab books found in the country. Among the published books by Salim Nabhan was *FatYul Qad'r*. This book was published in 1920s in Surabaya and assumed as the first book in Malay describing the size and scale of Arab in Indonesian. See <http://jombang.nu.or.id/kitab-shorof-kiyai-mashum-seblak-yang-mendunia/> See also Martin van Bruinessen, "Kitab Kuning; Books in Arabic Script used in the Pesantren Milieu; Comments on a New Collection in the KITLV Library." *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land-en volkenkunde/Journal of the Humanities and Social Sciences of Southeast Asia* 146.2 (1990): 232.

¹⁶ Papers watermarked with two crossing flags and Salim Nabhan name were found abundantly in South and West Sulawesi. The relationship of K. H. Muh As'ad al-Bugisy and Salim Nabhan in Islamic development through publication and selling of books brought in the spread of paper in this area. (Interview with Dr. Ahmad Rahman, a senior researcher from Bugis, Makasar. He work in Center for Research and Development of religiuous Literature and Heritage). See also "Penerbitan al-Hidayah dan Salim Nabhan Surabaya Jawa Timur", in Dr Salahudin (ed.) *Lektur Agama dalam Berbagai Dimensi*, 2009; See also Husnul Fahimah, *Lontarak Sugkuna Wajo*, 2011, 50.

¹⁷ Ahmad Rahman and Syahrial, *Katalog Naskah Koleksi Masyarakat Keturunan Indonesia di Afrika Selatan*, 2008, 93.



Line with shadow. Image of Acehnese Manuscripts collected in private hand. Photo: taken by Fakhriati in Pidie, Aceh



Line without shadow. Image of Bugisnese manuscripts. Photo: taken by Husnul Fahimah in South Sulawesi.

According to Russell Jones, these two models consist of useful information inside. The shadow lines indicate that the paper was produced before the 19th century; on the contrary, paper with unshadow lines was produced after the 19th century. It makes sense because before the 19th century, paper was produced manually, resulting in high possibility of shadow lines to emerge. Meanwhile, after the 19th century, paper was produced by machine, resulting in better prints.¹⁸

How to Get the Paper

There were two ways to reach paper used as a material for writing Malay and Arab manuscripts, producing local paper and finding imported paper. For local papers, Malay people easily obtained the materials in their own areas or from their neighbours. For example, it may be predicted that they obtained papers made of tree bark for Acehnese manuscripts from Batak, who used *alim* trees to cover their manuscripts or imported from Java, which had established

¹⁸ Russell Johnes, 2011, “Watermark Icons – or Words? With Reference to Methods of Dating Malay manuscripts, in *Paper History* Journal of the International association of Paper Historians, vol. 15, 2011, Issue 1, p. 10. Doroche also discussed on the chain and laid laines produced before watermark appeared. (Deroche, François, 2005, *Islamic Codicology: An Introduction to the Study of Manuscripts in Arabic Script*, London: Al-Furqan Islamic Heritage Foundation. P. 57). It can be concluded that what Doroche stated is the lines with shadow produced before 19th century. (See Fakhriati, 2013 “Paper and Its History in Acehnese Manuscript”, in *Heritage of Nusantara; International Journal for Religious Literature and Heritage*, Vol. 2. No. 1 June 2013).

their relationship from the period of Abdurrauf Al-Fansuri¹⁹ in the 17th century. Meanwhile, some Kerinci manuscripts were written on bamboos and horns.

Imported papers with watermarks were imported particularly from Europe. The reasons for such import are explained below.

1. Between Malay and Arab

Analysing the types of watermarks on Malay and Arab manuscripts is found a similarity images of crescents, Arabic letters such as *Aba Syabkin*, and moon face in shield. These such papers might be produced in the same factory in Europe based on its consumers requested, in this case is Arab people. From Arab, the papers then brought and distributed to Malay.

Papers from Arab tended to be accepted and bought by Malay people based at least on two reasons. *First*, the arrival of Islam from Arab to Malay countries, especially Indonesia, had long established their relationships. In addition to having the same religion, Malay and Arab Muslims established a strong friendly relationship. Islam entered Aceh at first and created Islamic generations with common spirit and faith. Malay people warmly welcomed Arabs and the other way around.

Second, hajj pilgrimage tradition in the past,²⁰ also strengthened their relationship. Mecca became the center of hajj pilgrimage, religious learning, power, and politics. In Mecca, Muslims obtained information of the existence and development in other Muslim countries. They also built their visions to fight colonizers occupying Muslim countries in the past. Some of the manuscripts mentioned about issues related to the glorious Mecca making it a religious center worthy of praise. In Aceh, in the manuscript of *Hikayat Makkah Madinah* written in Acehnese language and stored in SOAS in England, for instance, it is mentioned that Mecca was the major place to stay and reside because it was a safe and blessed city. The chronicle's author showed himself when in Mecca by describing the mosque's doors when he missed his hometown and remembered his parents. He convinced himself that the actual heaven's door would open.²¹

Third, bilateral relationship of the two countries, such as Aceh and Turkey, makes them believe in suggestions and inputs from Arab. Similarly, in terms of papers, it is inevitable that Acehnese as Malay people accepted offers embracing the same religion, Islam. Moreover, with the strong direct interconnection, Turkey was the role model for Aceh sultanate in fighting for

¹⁹ Abdurrauf al-Fansuri is an *ulama* who firstly introduce *Syattariyah* order into the Archipelago. See detail elaboration on the name of Abdurrauf al-Fansuri rather than Abdurrauf Singkil in Fakhriati, *Menelusuri Tarekat Syattariyah di Aceh lewat Naskah*, 2008, 45.

²⁰Hajj pilgrimage tradition has been implemented and maintained by those with financial capability. However, hajj pilgrimage is not the only goal because some people stay there for years to, among others, study religion. For detail information, see Chambert Loir, *Naik Hajji di masa Silam*, 2013, Vol. 1, 5 -82.

²¹ Reza Indria, 'Hikayat Makkah Madinah dalam Bahasa Aceh' in *Naik Haji di Masa Silam*, 2013, Vol. 1, 222-226.

their country and religion against the colonizer. Since 16th century, the ottoman sultans favourably protected and aided local resistance to the Dutch colonizer by sending cannons and swords of honour to the Acehnese Sultanate.²² It then became very easy for Turkey to include their religious mission, including through papers. It is not surprising that similar watermarked papers was found, such as Arabic characters “Aba Syabkin”.

2. Relationship with European Countries

Malay and most Arab countries were occupied by Europeans. In addition to occupy, colonizers used their momentum to introduce their culture, including their production. European papers were generally popular and used by authors to write issues they considered important, such as science and al-Qur'an.

In most Acehnese manuscripts, European papers were found with *propatria* watermarks produced by Holland. It makes sense because Aceh was once colonized by Holland in the same period from 1873 to 1942 of war against the Dutch. Similarly, other Malay manuscripts, especially Indonesia, were mostly found using papers imported from Europe, e.g. Holland. It is possible to predict the difference between Malay manuscripts from Brunei and Pattani: papers from England were mostly used by the colonized countries.²³ Arab countries once occupied by European countries experienced similar things. Papers brought by Europeans dominating the country.

Closing Remarks

Manuscripts are unique because they are ancient and vintage. The uniqueness starts from their physical appearance, including stationery, cover, binding, figures inside, and ink. The texts also have their own criteria, such title, introduction, contents, and colophon. Malay on Arab manuscripts indicate their uniqueness according to the writing place, period, and those who wrote so-called *ulama*.

In terms of paper, Malay and Arab manuscripts have Islamic watermarked pictures. Both have similarity. Tradition developed in Arab manuscripts became dominant from the entrance of Islam to Malay. Strong interaction between both of them made them dependent on one another in many aspects. Relationship between teachers and students, as one of the forms of interaction established between Arab and Malay *ulama*, made them bound physically and mentally. Therefore, the papers used were similar.

Frequently found watermarks on Malay manuscripts are crescents and Arab characters were also found on Arab manuscripts. In addition, watermarks with distinct figures of certain European regions were also found in Malay and

²² Anthony Reid, “Aceh and the Turkish Connection” in Arndt Graft, Susanne Schröter, and Edwin Wieringa (ed.), *Aceh: History, Politics and Culture*. 2010, 26-37; Firas Alkhateeb, *Lost Islamic History*, 2014, 194; Fakhriati, *The Use of Paper...* 2013,67.

²³ Research on papers from Malay except Indonesia needs detailed implementation to obtained more detailed information on this.

Arab manuscripts, such as *propatria* image from Holland. Moreover, an indication of a region of all watermarks may also be seen, meaning there was an existence of watermarks in certain regions, such as Salim Nabhan of Surabaya, East Java, Indonesia.

Based on the unique interaction of watermarks on Malay and Arab manuscripts, further and broader studies on Arab manuscripts need to be performed, since the Arab manuscripts spread not only in the Middle East but also other parts of Muslim countries. (Chambert-Loir, 1999:39-50).

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AKTIVITAS UMAT ISLAM DI DALAM KELENTENG ANCOL JAKARTA

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Abstrak: Tulisan ini ingin menunjukkan bahwa sebagian umat Islam tidak hanya melakukan praktik-praktik keagamaan di dalam masjid, namun juga dilakukan dalam kelenteng-kelenteng, terutama di kelenteng Ancol Jakarta utara. Tulisan ini juga ingin menunjukkan bahwa kelenteng Ancol bukan hanya sekedar tempat ibadah bagi orang China yang beragama Tao, Khongbucu dan Buddha, namun juga sebagai tempat bagi sebagian orang muslim untuk berziarah ke beberapa kuburan muslim di dalamnya, tempat mereka memohon sesatu sesuai dengan keinginannya. Di samping itu, kelenteng Ancol juga sebagai tempat perjumpaan dari berbagai suku bangsa, agama dan kebudayaan yang berbeda-beda. Tulisan ini merupakan hasil penelitian yang dilakukan selama enam bulan di kelenteng Ancol di Jakarta utara pada tahun 2015. Pendekatan yang digunakan dalam tulisan ini adalah pendekatan antropologi dan mengacu pada teori Marcel Mauss (1967) tentang pemberian harus dibalas dengan pemberian atau di dunia ini tidak ada pemberian yang tanpa pamrih dan termasuk hubungan manusia dengan dunia tidak nyata.

Kata Kunci: Aktivitas, Umat Islam, Kelenteng Ancol,

A. Pendahuluan

Jika kita berkunjung ke kota Semarang, maka belumlah lengkap jika kita tidak berkunjung ke kelenteng Sam Po Kong di Semarang. Sama artinya jika kita berkunjung ke Jakarta, maka belumlah lengkap jika kita belum berkunjung ke Monumen Nasional (Monas). Demikian juga, jika kita berkunjung ke tempat wisata Ancol, maka belum lengkap jika kita tidak berkunjung ke kelenteng bersejarah yaitu kelenteng Ancol. Jika kita berkunjung ke Kalimantan Barat, maka belumlah lengkap jika kita belum mengunjungi kelenteng Sam Po Kong di wilayah Pantai Samudera Indah, Dusun Tanjung Gundul, Desa Karimunting, Kecamatan Sei Raya Kepulauan, Kabupaten Bengkayang. Demikian juga jika kita berkunjung ke Melaka Malaysia, maka belumlah lengkap jika kita belum berkunjung ke Musium Cheng Ho di Bandar Melaka dan jika kita berkunjung ke Tuban, maka belumlah terasa lengkap jika kita belum berkunjung ke kelenteng Kwan Sing Bio Tuban.

Setelah menyoroti dua kelenteng di Semarang, kita alihkan perhatian kita untuk melihat kelenteng Ancol di Jakarta. Sama dengan dengan kelenteng Sam Poo Kong dan kelenteng Tai Kak Sie di Semarang, Kelenteng Ancol di Jakarta Utara juga banyak dikunjungi orang Islam dan non Islam, karena di dalamnya terdapat kuburan seorang muslim yang diduga sebagai kuburan juru masaknya Cheng Ho. Ini artinya bahwa tidak hanya Cheng Ho yang menjadi pusat perhatian umat Islam dan non Islam, tapi juru masaknya juga menjadi pusat perhatian masyarakat Indonesia, khususnya Jakarta. Ini menunjukkan bahwa orang Indonesia (Islam maupun non Islam) sangat menghormati Cheng Ho dan anak buahnya.

Dalam kompleks kelenteng Ancol ini terdapat empat orang muslim yang dimakamkan di sini. Mereka itu adalah: Embah Said Arely Dato Kembang dan ibu Enneng, Sam Po Soe Soe (juru masaknya Cheng Ho dan ibu Sitiwati). Dari empat orang Islam yang dikuburkan di kompleks kelenteng ini, tiga di antaranya berasal dari Indonesia dan satu dari Tiongkok. Sam Po Soe Soe berasal dari Tiongkok dan memiliki seorang istri yang bernama ibu Sitiwati. Ibu Sitiwati adalah anak dari Embah Said Arely Dato Kembang dan ibu Enneng (Tanggok 2016). Jadi, keempat orang muslim yang dimakamkan di kompleks kelenteng Ancol ini masih ada ikatan kekerabatan di antara mereka.

Kelenteng Ancol ini sama dengan kelenteng Sam Poo kong di Semarang (Moertiko, tt; Suryadinata, 2005:75), yaitu juga menjadi pusat kunjungan umat Islam dan non Islam. Salah satu alasan beberapa umat Islam datang ke tempat ini karena ingin mengunjungi makam muslim yang ada di sana. Tujuan mereka datang ke sana ada yang hanya untuk berziarah dan ada juga yang berziarah dan sekaligus memohon pertolongan dari mereka (orang-orang yang dikuburkan di tempat itu) untuk mewujudkan keinginan-keinginan mereka. Tulisan ini ingin menunjukkan bahwa kelenteng dapat juga dijadikan sarana untuk mempersatukan kedua kelompok agama yang berbeda, yaitu Islam dan non Islam. Kasus ini dapat dilihat dalam kelenteng Ancol Jakarta Utara.

B. Asal Usul Kelenteng Ancol

Kelenteng Ancol adalah kelenteng yang dibangun di lokasi tempat wisata Ancol Jakarta Utara. Kelenteng ini dibangun sejak ratus tahunan yang lalu, namun sampai sekarang masih tetap berdiri kokoh dan tidak luput dari kunjungan umat non Islam dan Islam. Kelenteng ini tempat ibadah orang China yang menganut agama Tao, Khonghucu dan Buddha (Wang 2011: 20). Kelenteng ini mempunyai corak yang berbeda dengan kelenteng-kelenteng lainnya di Indonesia dan khususnya di Jakarta, karena yang berkunjung untuk melakukan ritual di kelenteng ini bukan saja orang-orang yang menganut agama Tao, Khonghucu dan Buddha, tapi juga sebagian kecil umat Islam juga ikut melakukan ritual di tempat ini.

Sulit kita mengetahui kapan kelenteng Ancol ini pertama kali dibangun dan siapa yang membangunnya. Kesulitan itu disebabkan karena kita tidak menemukan bukti-bukti tertulis yang menunjukkan sejarah berdirinya kelenteng ini. Dalam bukunya Klaudin Salmon (1985), ada disebutkan bahwa kelenteng

Ancol diperkirakan didirikan sekitar abad ke-17, namun mereka juga tidak dapat menyebutkan tahun pendirian yang pasti. Jika benar kelenteng ini didirikan pada abad ke-17, maka ada kemungkinan bahwa pendiriannya berbarengan dengan kedatangan orang-orang China dari Tiongkok di wilayah Kalimantan Barat (Lontaan 1975). Kelenteng ini dipergunakan untuk pemujaan pada *Da-bo-gong* (dan istrinya) dewa tanah atau *Fu-de Zheng-shen* yang juga banyak dipuja di beberapa kelenteng di Indonesia. Kelenteng ini bercorak Taois dengan gaya khusus bangunannya seperti bangunan Miao (kelenteng) di Tiongkok. Kelenteng ini juga dikaitkan dengan makam seorang muslim yang dianggap kramat dan sekaligus tempat pemujaan dan memohon sesuatu oleh sebagian orang China maupun masyarakat non China (orang-orang muslim) sampai dengan sekarang ini. Karena di kelenteng ini ada makam seorang muslim, maka kelenteng ini tidak hanya dikunjungi oleh orang-orang China dari berbagai penjuru di Indonesia, tapi juga oleh sebagian umat muslim dari berbagai daerah.

Dahulunya kelenteng ini dibangun terpencil di tengah hutan dan menghadap ke laut, yaitu kira-kira 500 tahun yang lalu atas perintah kapitan Lim Teng Tjauw. Sekarang kelenteng ini tidak lagi dikelilingi oleh hutan-hutan, tapi dikelilingi oleh rumah-rumah mewah, sehingga keberadaan kelenteng ini berada di tengah-tengah komplek perumahan mewah yang dengan mudah dijangkau oleh siapa saja yang akan mengunjungi kelenteng tersebut. Meskipun berada dalam kompleks perumahan mewah, namun bagi orang yang pertama kali pergi ke tempat ini akan merasa kesulitan untuk menemukan lokasi kelenteng ini, karena tidak ada papan petunjuk arah yang menujukkan ke lokasi kelenteng. Salah satu cara untuk menuju lokasi kelenteng, kita dapat bertanya kepada satpam (satuan pengamanan) kompleks dan mereka dapat menunjukkan jalan menuju lokasi. Saya pernah bertanya kepada ketua kelenteng kenapa tidak dibuatkan papan petunjuk arah menuju lokasi kelenteng, dia menjawab bahwa pada masa lalu pernah dibuatkan papan petunjuk arah, tapi belum lama dipasang dan papan tersebut dicuri orang. Akhirnya sampai sekarang, kelenteng ini tidak memiliki papan petunjuk arah lokasi.

Pada mulanya kelenteng ini dibangun untuk tempat pemujaan dewa tanah atau *Fu-de Zheng-shen*, namun seiring dengan perjalanan waktu, kelenteng ini berubah fungsinya, yaitu dari pemujaan dewa tanah ke pemujaan juru masak Cheng Ho dan Istrinya (Sitiwati). Dengan pergeseran ini, bukan berarti dewa tanah tidak lagi dipuja oleh banyak arang, tapi masih tetap dilakukan pemujaan. Pemujaan terhadap dewa tanah ini tidak hanya dilakukan di kelenteng Ancol tapi juga dilakukan diberbagai kelenteng di seluruh Indonesia maupun di seluruh daratan Tiongkok.

Di Jakarta banyak bangunan bernilai sejarah, salah satunya adalah kelenteng Ancol. Kelenteng Ancol adalah peninggalan sejarah masa lalu, namun sangat sedikit informasi yang menceritakan awal keberadaannya. Karena tidak ditemukan bukti-bukti yang jelas kapan kelenteng Ancol ini didirikan dan siapa yang mendirikannya, maka muncullah berbagai cerita seputar kelenteng tersebut. Diantaranya adalah cerita yang berhubungan dengan kelenteng tersebut yang dimuat dalam majalah *Liberti* pada bulan juli 1940. Judul artikel

dalam majalah tersebut adalah “*Tuapekong Antjol, Menoeroet Tjeritanya Seorang Yang Soedah Toea*”. Menurut cerita Liem Poen Kie, sebagaimana terdapat dalam majalah tersebut, bahwa pada jaman dahulu kala asal mula pemujaan terhadap juru masak Cheng Ho adalah sebagai berikut: Pada jaman dahulu, daerah yang dikenal oleh masyarakat luas dengan daerah Ancol tersebut adalah sebuah pelabuhan yang cukup ramai dikunjungi oleh kapal-kapal, baik kapal-kapal yang berasal dari dalam negeri maupun yang berasal dari luar negeri dan pelabuhan tersebut dikenal dengan sebutan pelabuhan Bintang Mas. Konon ketika Cheng Ho berlabuh di pelabuhan Bintang Mas ini, juru masaknya turun ke darat untuk menyaksikan pertunjukan topeng betawi. Keinginannya untuk menyaksikan pertunjukan topeng betapi tersebut, tidak semata-mata karena topeng betawi tersebut adalah asing bagi dia (karena tidak ada di negeri Tiongkok), tapi karena tertarik dengan penarinya yang cantik-cantik, salah satu dari penari-penari tersebut adalah Sittiwiati. Karena terpesona dengan kecantikannya, maka timbul keinginan dari juru masak Cheng Ho untuk memperistri Sittiwiati. Usaha dia untuk mendapatkan Sittiwiati sangat luar biasa, dia sanggup meninggalkan teman-temannya demi berlayar dengan teman-temannya untuk mengunjungi negara lain.

Pada zaman dahulu, topeng Betawi merupakan kesenian yang banyak diminati orang, sebab masih sedikitnya hiburan yang dapat dinikmati orang pada masa itu. Oleh karena itu, tidak hanya orang local yang senang menyaksikan kesenian tradisional Betawi tersebut, tapi juga orang-orang luar, termasuk orang China yang berasal dari Tiongkok. Karena senangnya menyaksikan topeng betawi, juru masak Cheng Ho tersebut tidak menyadari bahwa dia sudah ditinggalkan oleh Cheng Ho bersama kapalnya berlayar meninggalkan pelabuhan Bintang Mas. Karena merasa ditinggalkan oleh Cheng Ho dan anak buahnya yang lain, juru masak Cheng Ho ini meneruskan niatnya untuk memperistri Sittiwiati dengan cara mendatangi orang tua Sittiwiati untuk melamar anaknya. Dikatakan dalam artikel tersebut bahwa ayah dari Sittiwiati ini bernama Said Areli Dato Kembang yang berasal dari Cirebon (masuk dalam wilayah Jawa Barat), sedangkan ibunya bernama Enneng yang diyakini berasal dari Burma (Tanggok 2006). Jadi Sittiwiati memiliki darah campuran antara Burma dan Indonesia.

Said Areli Dato Kembang juga merasa khawatir jika anaknya mendapat jodoh dengan orang asing yang berbeda agama. Agar menantunya nanti dapat melaksanakan perintah Tuhan dan menjauhi larangannya, Said Areli Dato Kembang mengajukan syarat untuk calon menantunya, yang antara lain tidak boleh makan babi seumur hidup. Syarat ini diajukannya terkait dengan keyakinan agama yang dia anut yaitu Islam. Syarat yang diajukan oleh Said Areli Dato Kembang tersebut diterima oleh juru masak Cheng Ho sepenuhnya dan akhirnya dia berhasil memperistri Sittiwiati, seorang gadis yang sangat diidam-idamkannya atau gadis yang sangat ia cintai. Dia berkeyakinan bahwa dia lah yang sangat cocok sebagai pendamping hidupnya di masa akan datang.

Setelah berlabuh, Cheng ingin melanjutkan perjalananannya ke Negara-negara lain, dia memerintahkan anak buahnya untuk mengangkat jangkar kapal

dan mengarungi laut bebas bersama anak buahnya yang lain. Di tengah-tengah perjalanan, Cheng Ho baru menyadari bahwa juru masaknya yang minta izin turun ke darat ketika kapalnya berlabuh di pelabuhan Bintang Mas belum naik ke kapal. Oleh karena itu, dia memerintahkan pada juru mudi kapal agar kembali ke pelabuhan Bintang Mas untuk menjemput juru masaknya. Setibanya dia di Ancol, dia tidak lagi menjumpai juru masaknya, dan ia pergi entah kemana. Dengan demikian, Cheng Ho memutuskan untuk meninggalkan juru masaknya dan meneruskan perjalanannya mengelilingi dunia. Puluhan tahun kemudian, masyarakat Ancol menemukan empat buah makam Islam di wilayah kelenteng Ascol, yang salah satunya diyakini sebagai makam juru masaknya Cheng Ho dan yang lain diyakini sebagai makamistrinya dan orang tuaistrinya. Untuk mengenang jasa-jasa dan sekaligus menghormati Cheng Ho dan juru masaknya, masyarakat membangun sebuah kelenteng tempat orang memuja atau bersembahyang (Tanggok 2006). Ini adalah suatu cerita lain dari sejarah berdirinya kelenteng Ancol.

Makam juru masak Cheng Ho atau Sam Po Soei Soe dan istrinya Sitiwati terletak di bagian depan kelenteng, sedangkan makam kedua orang tua istrinya terletak di bagian belakang kelenteng atau kira-kira 30 meter jaraknya dari makam anak dan mantunya. Empat buah makam ini diduga kuat oleh masyarakat sebagai makam muslim, karena di makam-makam tersebut terdapat tulisan yang berbahasa Arab yang mencirikan bahwa makam-makam itu adakah makam muslim. Begitu juga dengan nama Said Areli Dato Kembang, juga merupakan nama yang umumnya digunakan oleh orang-orang muslim (Tanggok 2006). Nama Said Areli juga dapat diduga bahwa orang tersebut berasal dari keturunan Arab dan dapat juga berasal dari keturunan di luar Arab. Dugaan ini belum dapat dibuktikan kebenarannya karena belum dijumpai tulisan-tulisan yang berhubungan dengan hal tersebut atau belum ada tulisan-tulisan yang menjelaskan silsilah keturunan Said Areli.

Ada sebuah buku yang juga menceritakan tentang kelenteng Ancol. Buku tersebut berjudul: *Rivayat Kelenteng, Vihara, Lithang, Tempat Ibadah Tridharma Se-Jawa*, yang disusun oleh Moerthiko dan tampa ada dituliskan tahun penerbitannya. Saya menduga buku ini diterbitkan sekitar tahun delapan puluhan tau tepatnya pada masa pemerintahan India Belanda. Dalam buku tersebut diceritakan bahwa konon ketika Sam Po Kong (Cheng Ho) yang makamnya terdapat di kelenteng Gedung Batu Semarang, singgah di pesisir Jakarta (sekarang daerah Ancol) telah jatuh cinta dengan ibu Sitiwati, anak dari tuan Said Areli dan cucu dari datuk Kembang. Tidak diketahui dengan jelas apakah ibu Sitiwati dijadikan Sam Po Kong istri atau tidak, namun ibu Sitiwati menjadi amat sedih ketika ditinggal pergi oleh Sam Po Kong untuk melanjutkan perjalanannya ke naegara Siam. Ibu Sitiwati berujar bahwa kalau dirinya tidak sampai ketemu lagi dengan Sam Po Kong karena lebih dahulu meninggal dunia maka biarlah dirinya menjadi Toa Pekong atau keramat saja untuk dipuja oleh banyak orang. Ternyata apa yang dia katakan itu benar, karena sampai akhir hayatnya Sam Po Kong tidak muncul lagi, dan makamnya ibu Sitiwati sebagaimana amanantnya telah dijadikan keramat. Rakyat sekitarnya telah

menaruh kepercayaan pada makam ibu Sittiwi tersebut dan sering berkunjung ke makan untuk memohon sesuatu kepadanya. Dibangunnya kelenteng tersebut adalah untuk mengenang jasa-jasa kedatangan Cheng Ho dan anak buahnya yang diyakini mampir di daerah pesisir Jakarta. Dua cerita di atas ada kaitannya dengan sejarah keberadaan kelenteng Ancol yang masih berdiri sampai masa semarang.

Kedua kisah ini berbeda satu dengan yang lainnya. Kisah kedua agak berbeda dengan kisah pertama. Kisah kedua menceritakan bahwa Cheng Ho atau Sam Po Kong lah yang tertarik dengan ibu Sittiwi dan bukan juru masak Cheng Ho sebagaimana diceritakan pada cerita pertama. Adanya dua cerita tentang latarbelakang didirikannya kelenteng Ancol tersebut menunjukkan kepada kita adanya perbedaan pendapat diantara banyak orang mengenai sejarah kelenteng Ancol yang masih berdiri sampai sekarang ini dan masih dimanfaatkan untuk umatnya ber. Meskipun demikian, kita telah mendapatkan banyak informasi mengenai sejarah berdirinya kelenteng Ancol yang sampai sekarang banyak dikunjungi oleh orang karena ingin mendapatkan sesuatu yang mereka inginkan. Sebelum mereka mencoba datang ke tempat ini, mereka penasaran dengan cerita-cerita dari orang lain tentang kelenteng Ancol ini. Itulah salah satu sebab kenapa banyak orang Islam mengunjungi kelenteng ini karena ada keterkaitannya dengan sejarah kedatangan Islam.

C. Makam Orang Muslim Dalam Kelenteng Ancol

Ancol Jakarta Utara bukan hanya sekedar tempat orang berwisata, namun juga menyimpan peninggalan bangunan bersejarah sejarah yang cukup banyak di antaranya adalah Kelenteng Ancol. Disebut kelenteng Ancol Karen lokasinya di Taman wisata Ancol. Bagi orang yang tidak punya perhatian terhadap kebudayaan China, boleh jadi dia tidak banyak tahu tentang lokasi kelenteng Ancol ini. Tapi bagi orang yang sangat tertarik dengan kebudayaan China, dia akan berusaha keras untuk mengunjungi kelenteng Ancol karena masih mempunya keterkaitan dengan kedatangan Cheng Ho di beberapa daerah di Nusantara (Widodo dalam Suryadunata 2005). Kelenteng Ancol adalah sebuah kelenteng masyarakat China yang terletak di daerah atau kawasan wisata Ancol Tanjung Priuk Jakarta Utara. Di depan pintu masuk kelenteng ini tertulis nama kelenteng dengan nama “Vihara Buddha Bhakti Ancol.” Melihat dari nama kelenteng ini, menunjukkan bahwa kelenteng tersebut sudah berada di bawah naungan agama Buddha, sebagaimana kelenteng-kelenteng lain di seluruh Indonesia. Sebab pada zaman Orde Baru, semua kelenteng (tempat ibadah orang China) dirubah namanya menjadi Vihara (tempat ibadah para pengikut agama Buddha). Meskipun dirubah namanya, sebagian besar orang masih menyebutnya sebagai kelenteng dan coraknyapun tidak berubah, yaitu masih tetap sebagai kelenteng. Setelah berubah namanya, di dalamnya diletakkan patung Buddha sebagai objek pemujaan, di samping patung Khonghucu dan Lao Tze (Tanggok 2006; Tanggok 2000) dan juga patung-patung yang lain sebagai objek pemujaan masyarakat yang mengunjungi tempat ini.

1. Makam Embah Said Arely Dato Kembang Dalam Kelenteng Ancol

Sebagai kelenteng, Lokasi kelenteng ini sangat strategis, karena dia berada di dalam komplek perumahan mewah wilayah Ancol. Di samping kiri kelenteng tersebut terdapat rumah-rumah yang cukup mewah milik sebagian besar orang China yang berasal dari berbagai daerah, dan para pengusaha suksu. Kawasan ini dikenal dengan kawasan mahal karena lokasinya berada dalam wilayah taman wisata Ancol. Untuk rekreasi dan berbelanja cukup mudah dijangkau melalui tempat ini, karena tidak jauh dari pusat kota.

Berdasarkan keterangan juru kunci kelenteng Ancol, kelenteng tersebut didirikan oleh Mbah Said yang bergelar Datuk Kembang untuk menghormati menantunya yang berasal dari Tiongkok. Dalam cerita lain disebutkan bahwa Sam Po Soei Soe, adalah juru masak Sam Po Kong (Cheng Ho). Dia jatuh cinta pada pada salah seorang penari ronggeng lokan bernama Sitiwati. Tidak lama kemudian dia menikahi penari ronggeng tersebut dan tinggal di wilayah Ancol. Selama tinggal di wilayah Ancol, dia bergaul dengan masyarakat setempat dan menjadi bagian dalam hidup masyarakat.

Dari beberapa sumber sejarah mengatakan bahwa Cheng Ho dan anak buahnya pernah berlabuh di Tnjung Emas atau sekarang dikenal dengan Ancol. Sebagaimana kita ketahui, bahwa pelaut jaman dahulu masih menggunakan kapal layar sebagai andalan utamanya. Karena menggunakan layar sebagai mesinnya, maka kapal-kapal tersebut sangat tergantung pada arah angin. Akibat arah angin ini juga yang membuat dia dan anak buahnya terdampar di wilayah Ancol.

Meskipun usianya sudah cukup tua, namun kelenteng ini masih tetap terawat dengan baik dan ramai dikunjungi orang (Sastrosoemarto 2010). Bentuk kelenteng ini tidak ubahnya seperti kelenteng-kelenteng lain di Indonesia, baik dari segi bangunannya maupun dari segi tampilan warnanya. Sebagaimana umumnya kelenteng di Indonesia selalu menonjolkan warnah merah. Demikian juga dengan kelenteng Ancol juga didominasi warna merah.

Tidak sulit untuk mencari kelenteng ini, karena jalan masuk menuju kelenteng sangat bagus dan sudah beraspal. Jika kita akan pergi ke kelenteng ini, kita akan melewati rumah-rumah mewah yang ada dalam kompleks perumahan Ancol tersebut. Jika kita tidak tahu lokasi kelenteng, maka kita dapat bertanya pada Satuan Pengamanan atau Satpam yang selalu berjaga di depan pintu masuk kompleks perumahan. Kompleks perumahan ini dijaga oleh para satuan pengamanan, karena dianggap kompleks perumahan mahal yang dihuni oleh sebagian besar orang kaya.

Ada pengunjung yang menggunakan kendaraan roda dua dan ada juga pengunjung yang menggunakan roda empat. Bagi para pengunjung kelenteng yang menggunakan kendaraan roda dua dan empat sangat menggembirakan, sebab halaman parkir kelenteng ini cukup besar, sehingga dapat menampung kira-kira 50 sampai dengan 60 kendaraan. Pada hari-hari biasa halaman parkir ini terlihat sepi dan hanya ada satu dua kendaraan yang parkir di sini, karena tidak ada pengunjung yang datang. Sedangkan untuk hari-hari tertentu, seperti tanggal 1 dan 15 Imlek atau *Ce it* dan *Cap go* halaman ini terlihat penuh

dikunjungi oleh orang-orang yang akan memohon sesuatu kepada roh-roh orang-orang dan dewa-dewa yang dikramatkan di kelenteng ini, seperti Juru masak Cheng Ho dan Istrinya, orang tua Sitti Wati dan ibundanya.

Pada awalnya kelenteng ini dibangun untuk memuja dewa bumi yang bernama Fu De Zheng Shen. Setiap kelenteng di Indonesia sudah dipastikan memiliki tempat pemujaan Fu De Zheng Shen. Dewa Bumi adalah salah satu dewa yang dipuja oleh para pengunjung kelenteng. Kelenteng ini pada awalnya tidaklah sebagus apa yang dapat kita saksikan sekarang ini, dia hanya berbentuk bangunan biasa yang terletak di tengah-tengah hutan lebat di daerah Ancol. Karena pada masa itu, kawasan ini belum mendapat perhatian oleh para pengusaha perumahan.

Kelenteng ini menghadap ke laut dan pembangunannya didasarkan atas perintah kapitan Lim Teng Tjauw sekitar 5 abad yang lalu. Para juru kunci kelenteng ini juga tidak dapat menjelaskan kapan kelenteng tersebut di dirikan, yang jelas mereka hanya dapat mengatakan sekitar 500 tahun yang lalu. Dilihat dari namanya, tentu saja pendiri dari kelenteng ini adalah orang China yang bermarga Lim, karena nama marga seringkali dipakai oleh orang-orang China yang menggunakan nama China. Jika mereka tidak lagi menggunakan nama China atau menggunakan nama Indonesia, mereka tidak lagi menambahkan nama marga di namanya (Tanggok 2006; Tanggok 2015). Namun informasi lain menyebutkan bahwa pendirinya adalah orang tua dari ibu Sitiwati (bapak mertua dari juru masak Cheng Ho). Sebagaimana disebutkan sebelumnya bahwa mertuanya juru masak Cheng Ho ini ingin menghormati mantanunya maka didirikanlah sebuah kelenteng.

Sebagaimana dikatakan oleh Iwan Santosa (Senin 1 Agustus 2005 dalam tulisannya yang berjudul: *Pemakaman Melayu Islam di Wihara Ancol*, lihat dalam https://www.mailarchive.com/budaya_tionghua@yahoogroups.com) menjelaskan bahwa di Jakarta ada sebuah Kelenteng *An Xu Da Bo Gong Miao* (Kelenteng Toapekong Ancol) atau dikenal juga dengan nama Wihara Buddha Bhakti Ancol, tepatnya di kompleks peribadatan yang didirikan sekitar 1650 Masehi yang lalu, masih berdiri kukuh dan menjadi pertanda bahwa pada masa lalu terjadi hubungan baik Tiongkok-Pasundan di tepi pantai Ancol. Kelenteng ini menandakan atau menyimbolkan adanya hubungan baik itu dan benar terjadi pada masa lalu.

Lebih lanjut dikatakannya, bahwa kelenteng itu menjadi tempat peribadatan umat Buddha, Konfusius, Tao, sekaligus (tempat) peziarahan bagi umat Muslim di Betawi tempo dulu hingga kini. Penyebabnya karena ada sejumlah makam tokoh Sunda dan mereka beragama Islam dan sekaligus keberadaan makam tukang masak Sam Po Kong (Cheng Ho) yang Muslim di tempat itu menjadikannya sebagai tempat pertemuan umat dari berbagai agama. Saya dapat menambahkan bahwa tempat ini menjadi wadah bersatunya dari unsur Islam dan non Islam. Meskipun kelenteng Ancol ini berada dalam kekuasaan umat non Islam, namun umat Islam tidak pernah mengakui bahwa tempat ini adalah milik mereka. Mereka hanya datang untuk memohon sesuatu di tempat ini, itupun sudah dianggap cukup dan tidak lebih dari pada itu.

Dalam tulisannya, Iwan Santosa mengutip pendapat dari Johannes Widodo (sebagaimana sudah disebutkan di atas), pakar arsitektur dan peneliti Cheng Ho dari National University of Singapore (NUS). Widodo menjelaskan, bahwa kompleks makam tersebut merupakan peninggalan sejarah muhibah armada Cheng Ho yang berulang kali mengunjungi Jawa pada abad ke-15 (lihat juga Tanggok 2010:25). Ditambahkannya lagi bahwa Sam Po Kong (Cheng Ho) sendiri jarang turun ke darat sebagai pembesar dan tetap tinggal di atas kapal. Biasanya, para pejabat kepercayaannya saja yang turun ke darat dan mengadakan kunjungan persahabatan dengan kerajaan lokal (dimana mereka singgah). Salah satu anak buah Cheng Ho yang turun ke darat pada saat kapalnya berlabuh di wilayah Ancol adalah Sam Po Soei Soe, juru masak Cheng Ho dan mendapatkan kesempatan untuk menikah dengan penduduk lokal.

Sebagaimana dikatakan oleh Santosa, Dalam karya ilmiahnya Johannes menulis bahwa dalam Kelenteng Ancol memiliki tiga makam Islam, yakni kuburan Sam Po Soei Soe, istrinya seorang putri bangsawan Sunda, dan makam ayah sang putri (Embah Said Dato Kembang). Tempat itu menjadi peziarahan orang China dan Muslim sehingga makanan mengandung babi tidak boleh disajikan di kompleks kelenteng itu, karena makanan itu terlarang bagi orang Islam. Dalam hal ini saya dapat menambahkan, bahwa jika makanan mengandung babi dipersembahkan dalam kelenteng itu atau di depan tiga makam muslim tadi, ini sama artinya bahwa para pemuja atau penyembah tidak menghormati orang yang dihormati ini atau tiga orang muslim ini. Sebagaimana kita ketahui bahwa orang muslim tidak makan babi, dan seharusnya makanan yang dipersembahkan padanya adalah juga bukan babi atau makanan yang tidak halal.

Santosa menjelaskan tentang sebuah kisah, di mana pada saat mereka menikah (Sam Po Soei Soe dan putri dari Embah Said Dato Kembang) pasangan China-Sunda itu saling berjanji tidak akan menghidangkan makanan babi yang diharamkan dalam Islam (dalam menu makanan sehari-hari). Meskipun petai dan jengkol tidak dilarang dalam Islam, namun makanan itu dilarang untuk dipersembahkan di kuburannya karena dianggap memiliki bau yang tidak sedap. Bau yang tidak sedap diyakini dapat mengganggu penciuman orang yang sudah mati. Itu dilakukan sebagai rasa saling menghargai antara kedua insan yang berbeda suku bangsa. Saya menduga bahwa pada saat belum menikah, pembantu Cheng Ho ini bukanlah seorang muslim, dan jika dia adalah seorang muslim, maka tidak perlu lagi dia berjanji untuk tidak menyediakan makanan babi.

Sebagaimana dikatakan Santosa, bahwa tempat itu dijaga oleh seorang muslim yang bernama Munir. Munir adalah seorang penjaga Kramat Embah Said Dato Kembang atau Kramat Ancol Kota Paris. Munir membenarkan keterangan yang menyangkut bahwa para penziarah tidak boleh mempersembahkan atau membawa makanan yang mengandung babi dan ia juga menyatakan bahwa tempat itu menjadi tempat ziarah bagi orang Islam mau pun China (non Islam). Tempat itu memang unik, di Kramat tersebut terdapat makam Embah Said dan istrinya, Ibu Enneng, yang beragama Islam. Ini

menunjukkan bahwa antara umat Islam dan non Islam pada masa lalu sangat rukun satu dengan yang lainnya. Ini seharusnya menjadi contoh bagi generasi sekarang bahwa leluhur kita zaman dahulu sangat menghargai perbedaan suku bangsa dan keyakinan. Sukubangsa dan keyakinan bukanlah penghalang bagi kedua kelompok untuk saling bekerjasama.

Dalam kelenteng Ancol tersebut, juga terdapat Batu peringatan. Batu peringatan pada makam itu tertulis dalam bahasa Melayu dan huruf Han Zi (huruf China). Sedangkan perlengkapan sembahyang dan ziarah juga tersedia, baik untuk berdoa sesuai cara Islam atau China yang non Islam. Santosa juga menambahkan, pemandangan di dalam bangunan utama kelenteng juga tak kalah uniknya. Di sana terdapat makam dan altar pasangan pembauran, yaitu Sam Po Soei Soe dan istri Ibu Siti Wati. Di sisi makam Siti Wati terdapat makam Ibu Mone. Menurut Tan Yin Cang (Chen Ying Chang dalam bahasa Mandarin), salah satu penjaga wihara, sebagaimana dikutip dari Santosa, bahwa Ibu Mone itu masih terhitung kerabat dekat Ibu Siti Wati.

Di sudut ruangan kelenteng, terdapat makam Kong Tjoe Tjou Seng yang juga juru masak Armada Zheng. Di tempat pemujaan utama memang terdapat patung dan papan nama Sam Po Tay Jin (Zheng He) di sudut kiri, Sam Po Soei Soe dan Ibu Siti Wati di tengah, dan Kong Tjo Tjo Seng di sudut kanan. Selain altar utama itu, terdapat juga tempat sembahyang lain.

Dalam tulisannya, Santosa juga menceritakan bahwa seseorang pengunjung yang ia temui dalam kelenteng ini. Salah seorang bernama A Hong, seorang pengusaha dan memiliki pabrik di Muara Karang. Ia mengaku sengaja datang ke kelenteng ini untuk memberi penghormatan dan mendoakan orangtuanya di Wihara Ancol. Ia baru saja selesai mengguyurkan minyak sembahyang di Kramat Ancol. Minyak untuk perlengkapan sembahyang atau berdoa dapat dibeli di kelenteng Ancol dengan harga Rp. 10.000,00 sampai dengan Rp. 15.000,00 perbotol. Menurut penuturnya bahwa dia sudah lama tak bersembahyang di sini. Dia juga mengatakan bahwa salah satu tujuan pedagang datang ke tempat ini adalah untuk minta berkah agar usahanya semakin bertambah maju. Saya juga dapat menduga, bahwa kedatangan A Hong di tempat ini bukan saja mendoakan orang tuanya, tapi juga memohon sesuatu pada roh-roh orang yang dianggap suci di kelenteng ini agar usahanya semakin bertambah maju. Biasanya para pengunjung mempunyai tujuan yang berbeda-beda datang ke tempat ini, tergantung dari niat mereka masing-masing.

Walaupun kelenteng Ancol ini memiliki nilai sejarah yang cukup tinggi, namun Kelenteng Ancol seolah tenggelam di tengah hiruk-pikuk Jakarta dan keramaian peringatan 600 tahun ekspedisi Cheng Ho yang dipusatkan di Semarang selama pekan pertama Agustus 2005. Kelenteng ini Letaknya tersembunyi di sisi timur Taman Impian Jaya Ancol, dan berada di sudut perumahan mewah dekat Jalan Pasir Putih III dan Jalan Pantai Sanur di kawasan bekas Sirkuit Ancol. Saya data mengatakan bahwa kelenteng ini sangat cocok untuk tempat ibadah, sebab letaknya jauh dari jalan utama ancol yang langsung ke pelabuhan Tanjung Priuk. Karena jauh dari jalan utama ancol,

maka tempat ini terhindar dari hiruk pikuk kota Jakarta. Suasana hening pun dapat kita rasakan di tempat ini.

Berdasarkan pendapat dari Sejarawan Adolf Heuken dalam bukunya yang berjudul Historical Sites of Jakarta, menjelaskan bahwa pada abad ke-17 dan ke-18 Ancol merupakan tempat hunian mewah dan taman besar, tetapi akhirnya ditinggalkan penghuni akibat wabah malaria di daerah berawa-rawa itu. Menurut Sentosa bahwa catatan resmi keberadaan Kelenteng Ancol baru muncul dalam catatan *essay A Tesseire* yang diterbitkan pada tahun 1792. Dalam *essay A Tesseire* tersebut dikatakan bahwa kelenteng Ancol adalah kelenteng tertua dan didirikan pada pertengahan pada tahun 1650. Keterangan itu sejalan dengan peringatan di dalam kelenteng pada restorasi tahun 1923. Setidaknya salah satu papan berukiran huruf Han Zi di dekat bangunan utama memang mencantumkan tahun 1755 Masehi. Menurut Heuken, pada tahun 1790, orang China membeli kompleks tersebut dari VOC. Selanjutnya, dilakukan restorasi pada tahun 1839, 1923, 1952, dan 1974. Bentuk wihara Ancol saat ini memang masih asli dan merupakan kondisi pada abad ke-18 atau sekitar tahun 1700-an.

Dalam hal ini saya dapat menambahkan bahwa karena kelenteng Ancol ini adalah peninggalan masa lampau dan penuh dengan nilai sejarah dan kerukunan, maka haruslah dijaga kelestariannya. Kelenteng dapat dijadikan model bagi generasi akan datang bahwa kerukunan itu tidak hanya diajarkan dalam sekolah, masyarakat, tapi juga dicontohkan dalam tempat-tempat ibadah, terutama di kelenteng. Kelenteng Ancol juga mengikuti perkembangan politik Indonesia, dahulu namanya adalah kelenteng, maka pasca tahun 1965 namanya berubah menjadi Wihara atau atau Vihara Buddha Bhakti Ancol. Ini artinya bahwa kelenteng ini berada di bawah naungan Direktur General Agama Buddha Kementerian Agama.

Sebagaimana kelenteng-kelenteng yang lain di Indonesia, Kelenteng Ancol atau Vihara Buddha Bhakti Ancol ini memiliki tempat-tempat atau altar pemujaan yang cukup banyak, tidak ubahnya seperti kelenteng Sam Poo Kong di Semarang. Altar-altar pemujaan tersebut antara lain adalah (Tanggok 2006).

2. Ruangan dan tempat pemujaan juru masak Cheng Ho dan Istrinya (Sitiwati).

Ruangan ini terdapat di bagian sebelah kanan pintu masuk atau kira-kira 50 metter dari pintu pagar kelenteng. Begitu kita memasuki kelenteng, kita akan menemukan altar untuk menghormati juru masak Cheng Ho dan Sitiwati. Mereka adalah tokoh-tokoh utama yang dipuja di dalam kelenteng ini dan sangat dihormati banyak orang. Juru masak Cheng Ho ini bernama Sam Po Soei Soe dan istrinya bernama iboe Sitiwati. Dilihat dari namanya, kedua orang ini merupakan percampuran antara suku bangsa China dan non China. Sitiwati adalah jelas nama dari orang Indonesia asli atau orang pribumi sedangkan nama Sam Po Soei Soe adalah nama orang yang berasal dari Tiongkok. Sebagaimana kita ketahui bahwa orang yang datang dari Tiongkok jarang yang wanita dan umumnya laki-laki. Lelaki China umumnya senang merantau dan mencari penghidupan yang lebih baik di negeri lain. Dari sejarah kedatangan orang China

ke Indonesia, tidak satupun kita ketahui yang berjenis kelamin wanita, semuanya laki-laki dan mereka sangat bekerja keras dalam membangun perekonomian mereka. Ini menunjukkan bahwa laki-laki orang China adalah suku bangsa yang sangat berani mengarungi laut bebas untuk menjalin persahabatan dengan Negara-negara lain di luar negeri Tiongkok.

3. Ruangan dan tempat pemujaan Cheng Ho atau Sampo Tay Djin.

Ruangan ini ada di sebelah kanan altar pemujaan Sam Po Soei Soe dan Iboe Sitiwati. Ketiga altar tempat pemujaan ini berada dalam satu ruangan, namun para pemohon yang datang ke sini lebih banyak memuja dan memohon sesuatu kepada Sam Po Soei Soe dan Iboe Sitiwati ketimbang pada Sampo Tay Djin dan Kong Tjo Tjoe Seng. Beberapa orang yang saya mintai pendapatnya mengatakan bahwa Sam Po Soei Soe dan Iboe Sitiwati banyak mengabulkan permohonan orang yang dating ke sini. Inilah sebabnya mereka banyak dikunjungi orang.

4. Ruangan dan tempat Pemujaan Tukang Masak Cheng Ho dan Sitiwati

Tempat pemujaan juru masak cheng Ho danistrinya Sitiwati juga disediakan satu ruangan dan altar tempat perlengkapan sembahyang. Altar tempat pemujaan juru masak Cheng Ho danistrinya Sitiwati ini berada dibagian sebelah kanan kelenteng atau sebelah kanan pintu masuk ke kelenteng Ancol. Altar tempat pemujaan ini berada dalam satu ruangan khusus yang ukurannya kira-kira 5 x 5 metter. Di depan pintu masuk ruangan ini ada sebuah meja khusus untuk menjual alat-alat sembahyang. Tidak diharuskan orang yang akan memohon sesuatu pada juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Sittiwati untuk membeli *bio* di sini, tapi boleh membeli dari luar atau membawa dari rumah atau membeli dari tempat penjualan *bio* yang lain kemudian dibawa ke tempat ini untuk sebagai alat sembahyang. Hal yang sama juga berlaku di kelenteng Sam Po Kong di Semarang. Kadangkala juga ada orang yang datang ke sini memberikan uang lebih kepada orang yang menjual *bio* di kelenteng ini dan merelakan uang kembalinya untuk hadiah pada yang menjual *bio*. Dalam Islam dikenal dengan istilah sedekah. Biasanya tukang penjual *bio* tidak menolak jika dikasi hadiah oleh para pengunjung kelenteng dalam bentuk apapun, namun umumnya adalah uang. Mereka tidak meminta, namun kalau diberi mereka menerima.

Orang yang datang di tempat pemujaan juru masak Sam Poo Kong dan Sittiwati ini mempunyai tujuan yang bermacam-macam ada yang datang ke sini ingin meminta agar sakitnya disembuhkan, usahanya maju, menentukan tempat usaha yang baik, meminta jodoh, meminta nomor togel dan lain-lain yang sesuai dengan keinginannya. Semua persmasalahan bisa mereka mohonkan penyelesaiannya di tempat ini dan semua permasalahan dapat mereka laporan kepada roh-roh dan dewa-dewa. Mereka yang datang ke sini ada yang membawa perentara atau dukun dan ada juga yang hanya datang sendri tanpa ditemani seorang dukun atau perentara atau sebagai penghubung. Ada yang datang ke tempat dengan meminta bantuan pada juru kuncinya (orang yang menunggu tempat ini) agar dapat menjadi perentaranya.

Salah seorang pemuja atau pemohon yang datang ke sini membawa seorang dukun. Dukun ini sebagai perentara antara pemohon atau pemuja dengan juru masak Sam Po Kong dan ibu Sittiwiati. Jika seseorang memohon sesuatu pada mereka, maka dukunlah yang membacakan mantra-mantara atau doa-doa dan menyampaikan maksud pemuja kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong. Mereka meyakini, dengan memohon bantuan dukun atau orang yang ahli sebagai perentara, keinginannya akan cepat terkabul. Dia juga meyakini bahwa orang yang ahli sebagai perentara mempunyai keahlian dalam berdialog dengan para roh halus atau dewa dan dengan demikian keinginannya dapat dengan mudah dikomunikasikan pada dewa-dewa atau roh-roh. Oleh karena itu, jasanya sangat diperlukan dalam menghubungkan antara pemohon dengan roh juru masak Sam Po Kong dan roh ibu Sittiwiati. Sebagai imbalan jasa yang diberikannya, maka juru masak biasanya mendapatkan hadiah dari orang yang ditolong atau dibantunya. Salah seorang dukun mengatakan kepada saya:

“Saya sudah lama mengobati pasien ini (dia sakit struk) dan akhirnya dia sembuh dengan baik. Ini berkat pertolongan yang diberikan oleh juru masak Sam Po Kong denganistrinya Sittiwiati. Kami datang ke sini untuk memohon sesuatu pada mereka bukan hanya sekali tapi berkali-kali, sehingga penyakit orang yang diobatinya semakin bertambah baik. Kami tidak hanya sekedar memohon kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Sittiwiati, tapi juga memohon pertolongan pada orang tua sittiwiati yang makamnya terletak dibagian belakang makam anaknya.”

Dia juga meyakini, bahwa orang tua dari ibu Sitiwiati juga memiliki kekuatan yang luar biasa untuk membantu orang yang memerlukan pertolongan. Makam orang tua Sittiwiati ini tidak dijaga oleh juru kunci yang non muslim, tapi dijaga oleh juru kunci yang beragama Islam berasal dari Jawa. Orang yang menunggu tempat ini tidaklah digaji, setiap pengunjung yang menggunakan jasanya, ia selalu mendapat imbalan dari pengunjung (Tanggok 2006). Umumnya para pengunjung kelenteng yang menggunakan jasa juru kunci kelenteng, mereka memberikan sedikit hadiah kepada mereka.

Sebagai ucapan terima kasih atas pertolongan yang diberikan oleh juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Sittiwiati, orang yang merasa ditolong memberikan penghormatan dan sesajian makanan kepada mereka. Makanan tersebut dapat berupa buah-buahan seperti jeruk mandarin, jeruk bali, jeruk biasa, buah apel dan lain-lain yang tidak mengandung babi. Yang lebih penting bukan buah-buah yang disampaikan oleh pemuja kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong, tapi adalah penghormatan yang diberikan oleh pemuja yang tidak dapat dinilai dengan benda-benda yang diberikan. Jadi balasan yang diberikan oleh orang-orang yang merasa ditolong oleh juru masak Sam Po Kong tidak semata-mata berupa benda tapi juga berupa penghormatan. Penghormatan itu dapat berupa pemujaan yang dilakukan oleh para pemuja yang datang ke sini kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong dan istrinya dan dapat juga berupa pemberian sesajen (makanan). Ada juga sebagian umat Islam yang datang ke tempat ini tidak memuja atau menghormati, tapi berziarah dan mendoakannya.

Banyak orang berharap agar permohonannya diterima apabila dia datang ke kelenteng dan memohon sesuatu kepada dewa-dewa di sana. Orang yang datang ke sini juga merasa bahagia jika permohonannya dikabulkan. Jika dikabulkan, maka dia akan datang dan memohon lagi apa yang dia butuhkan. Jika permohonannya tidak dikabulkan, maka dia tidak akan datang untuk yang kedua kalinya dan ada kemungkinan dia tidak cocok untuk memohon sesuatu di tempat ini. Dia akan berusaha mencari tempat yang cocok baginya untuk memohon sesuatu. Jika permohonannya diterima, dia akan informasikan kepada teman-temannya dan setelah mendapatkan informasi tersebut, teman-temannya juga berkeinginan untuk dating ke tempat ini. Informasi tersebut tersebar melalui mulut ke mulut, sehingga banyak orang datang ke kelenteng untuk meminta sesuatu yang mereka inginkan.

Tidak hanya sekedar tempat sembahyang dan berziarah, kelenteng Ancol juga dikunjungi oleh para pedagang dari berbagai daerah di Indonesia. Para pedagang yang akan membuka usaha baru juga dapat datang ke tempat ini, yaitu mereka dapat memohon suatu petunjuk pada dewa juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Sittiwiati bahwa apakah tempat yang baru yang mereka tentukan itu cukup baik untuk melakukan usaha di situ atau tidak. Jika dewa juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Sittiwiati mengatakan cukup baik, maka mereka akan membuka usaha di tempat itu dan jika tidak, mungkin mereka akan memikirkan kembali untuk membuka usaha di tempat itu dan mencari lokasi lain. Ada kemungkinan mereka akan menentukan pilihannya lagi dan membuka usaha sesuai dengan keinginanya dan juga mendapat restu dari para dewa-dewa kelenteng. Jika restu dari para dewa tidak didapatkan, maka mereka dapat membatalkan niatnya.

Ketika saya tiba di kelenteng Ancol untuk melakukan penelitian, ada tiga orang etnis China yang berasal dari Pontianak Kalimantan Barat datang ke kelenteng Ancol ini dengan tujuan ingin membuka usaha baru di tempat atau lokasi yang telah mereka tentukan. Tentu saja usaha yang akan mereka lakukan ini di Kalimantan Barat sesuai dengan tempat tinggal mereka. Mereka datang ke tempat ini adalah ingin meminta petunjuk atau restu dari dewa dan dewi (juru masak Sam Po Kong dan Istrinya) atas apa yang mereka rencanakan. Apakah tempat yang mereka rencanakan tersebut cukup baik untuk melakukan usaha atau tidak. Kalau dewa-dewa di kelenteng ini menganggap baik pilihannya, maka dia akan teruskan rencananya dan jika tidak, maka rencananya tidak akan diteruskan.

Tujuan utama mereka datang ke kelenteng ini adalah untuk mendapat petunjuk dan restu dari dewa juru masak Sam Po Kong atau Cheng Ho dan istrinya. Ketika tiba di kelenteng ini, mereka membeli alat-alat sembahyang terlebih dahulu yang terdiri dari *bio*, lilin dan lain-lain. Alat-alat sembahyang ini disediakan dan dijual di kelenteng. Alat-alat sembahyang itu terdiri dari beberapa batang *bio*, lilin merah, dan beberapa lembar kertas sembahyang untuk dibakar. Kemudian mereka melakukan sembahyang kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong dan ibu Sittiwiati di ruang tempat pemujaannya. Setelah melakukan sembahyang, mereka memohon sesuatu kepada juru masak Sam Po Kong dan ibu Sittiwiati, kemudian mereka menggongang tempat *ciam si* (bambu yang

berisikan ramalan). Setelah mendapatkan satu batang *ciam si*, mereka melambung *sin kaw atau Pwa Pwe*, alat untuk mengetahui apakah juru masak Sam Po Kong danistrinya setuju atau tidak atau alat ini seringkali digunakan oleh orang China untuk meramal nasib mereka.

Setelah melambung *pwa pwe*, ternyata kedua alat tersebut jatuh dalam keadaan satu terlentang dan satunya lagi terlungkup atau tengkurap, ini maknanya bahwa juru masak Sam Po Kong danistrinya menyetujui rencana mereka untuk mendirikan tempat usaha di tempat yang mereka rencanakan atau di tempat yang telah mereka tentukan sebelumnya. Mereka sangat bahagia karena keinginannya telah disetujui oleh dewa dan dewi yang mereka puja, yaitu juru masak Sam Po Kong danistrinya. Mereka juga pulang dengan hati yang tenang dan membawa hasil sesuai dengan apa yang mereka harapkan. Dengan disetujui oleh para dewa dari apa yang mereka inginkan, maka hatinya makin bertambah mantab dalam melanjutkan rencananya (Tanggok 2006). Mereka pulang ke daerah asalnya dengan membawa segudang harapan. Mereka sudah mendapatkan lampu hijau dari dewa-dewa untuk membuka usahanya.

Apa yang dilakukan oleh beberapa pengunjung kelenteng di atas, menunjukkan bahwa tujuan orang datang ke kelenteng Ancol mempunyai maksud bermacam-macam sesuai dengan keinginannya, dan jarang orang datang ke kelenteng ini hanya sekedar ingin mengetahui sejarah kelenteng dan dewa-dewa yang dipuja di dalamnya, kecuali para ilmuwan atau para peneliti yang menaruh perhatian besar pada kebudayaan orang-orang China masa lampau atau para wartawan yang sengaja ingin mencari berita tentang agama dan kebudayaan orang China, terutama yang berhubungan dengan sejarah kedatangan Cheng Ho di Nusantara pada abad ke 15.

5. Ruangan Tempat Pemujaan Embah Said Areli

Ruangan tempat pemujaan Embah Said Areli dan Dato Kembang dan Ibu Enneng, atau Kramat Ancol Kota Paris adalah bangunan tempat makam mereka. Sebagaimana telah disebutkan di atas, bahwa ruangan tempat pemujaan Embah Said danistrinya ini tidak hanya ada makamnya, tapi juga ada altar tempat meletakan perlengkapan sembahyang, sebagaimana altar-alter di dalam bangunan tempat sembahyang bagi para dewa-dewa kelenteng lainnya di dalam lokasi kelenteng Ancol. Altar ini dibuat khusus untuk meletakkan perlengkapan sembahyang bagi para pengunjung yang datang. Kuburan ini berada dalam suatu ruangan yang luasnya kira-kira 6 x 6 metter persegi. Di samping ruangan ini ada sebuah kamar berukuran 3 x 3 metter yang digunakan sebagai kamar juru kunci yang menjaga ruangan tersebut. Apabila tidak ada pengunjung yang datang untuk sembahyang, memohon sesuatu dan berziarah, juru kunci biasanya beristirahat sejenak di dalamnya. Di depan ruangan atau bagian luar ruangan ada sebuah bangunan yang berukuran 3 x 3 metter, juga terdapat altar di dalamnya, dan digunakan sebagai tempat pemujaan dewa langit atau Thian. Di depan pintu masuk ruangan Embah Said terdapat dua patung singa yang melambangkan dewa penjaga pintu. Tidak ubahnya seperti yang terdapat pada kelenteng-kelenteng umumnya di Indonesia, juga terdapat dua buah patung

singa di depannya, yang dianggap sebagai dewa penjaga pintu. Dewa penjaga pintu ini sangat penting dalam keyakinan orang China, karena dapat menolak bahaaya atau roh-roh jahat yang datang dari luar diri manusia itu sendiri.

Kuburan Embah Said dan ibu Enneng ini tidak ubahnya seperti kuburan orang-orang penting, seperti kuburan para pahlawan yang gugur membela negara, karena selain tempatnya bagus tapi juga terwut dengan rapi. Ini dikarenakan bahwa kuburan tersebut dijaga dan dirawat oleh juru kunci kuburan tersebut yang setiap hari membersihkan dan merawatnya.

Di depan kuburan ada sebuah tembikar atau tempat membakar setanggi atau kemenyan yang telah disiapkan oleh juru kunci kuburan. Setiap orang yang memerlukan sesuatu atau ingin memohon sesuatu kepada Embah Said, dia dapat membakar setanggi atau menyanyi di situ dan berdoa sesuai dengan keinginannya.

Jika ada orang yang datang memerlukan pertolongan Embah Said dan Ibu Enneng, pertama-tama yang harus dia lakukan adalah membeli *bio*, kembang dan setanggi atau menyanyi dengan juru kunci kuburan. Menyanyi dengan kembang harganya lima ribu rupiah dan *bio* juga seharga lima ribu rupiah. Setelah dibeli, *bio* dibakar dan digunakan untuk melakukan pemujaan pada Embah Said danistrinya. Hal yang sama juga dilakukan pada kembang dan menyanyi (Tanggok 2015: 110). Setelah kembang dan menyanyi dibeli, kemudian pemuja menghadap ke kuburan, membakar menyanyi atau setanggi, kemudian kembang diasapi dengan asap menyanyi dan mereka berdoa (memohon sesuatu) kepada Embah Said yang mereka anggap setengah dewa dan dapat mendatangkan keberuntungan bagi para pengikutnya atau bagi orang yang percaya kepadanya.

Pada bulan Desember 2015 saya pergi lagi ke Vihara Bhakti Ancol Jakarta Utara atau kelenteng Ancol, bukanlah untuk sembahyang atau memohon sesuatu pada makam kramat, tapi untuk melakukan penelitian dan melengkapi data sebelumnya. Di sana saya berjumpa dengan bapak Suryanto (anak dari pemilik krenteng yang bernama Tomi Wijaya), bapak Parman (jurukunci yang beragama Islam), bapak Parto (pengurus dan juru kunci makam kramat yang beragama Islam) dan Emak Onong (pembantu pengurus makam kramat yang Bergama Islam). Berdasarkan wawancara dengan pengurus Vihara atau kelenteng Ancol, bahwa kelenteng ini bukanlah berbentuk yayasan yang dimiliki oleh beberapa orang tapi milik dari perorangan yang diwariskan secara turun temurun dari pendiri pertama kepada sanak pamilinya. Menurut Suryanto, dia adalah orang China berasal dari China Benteng Tangerang dan masih ada hubungan darah dari pemilik pertama kelenteng ini. Dia tidak lagi bisa berbahasa China sebagaimana layaknya orang China karena sudah membaur dengan masyarakat lokal. Mamanya (istri pertama dari Tomi Wijaya atau orang tuanya) masih bisa berbahasa China, kerena dia adalah peranakan China (generasi tua) yang berasal dari Tiongkok. Menurut ceritanya, bapaknya sendiri, Tomi Wijaya sudah bercerai dengan istri pertamanya (peranakan China). Setelah lama menduda, dia kawin lagi dengan orang Sunda dan kemudian masuk Islam. Meskipun bapaknya sudah masuk agama Islam, namun Suryanto (anaknya)

masih tetap beragama Buddha dan belum pindah ke agama orang tuanya, yaitu Islam.

Menurut keterangan juru kunci klenteng (pak Herman, orang sunda dan juga beragama Islam), bahwa Tomi Wijaya (pemilik kelenteng) sering pergi sembahyang Jumat dan mengerjakan amalan-amalan Islam lainnya, sebagaimana layaknya orang Islam. Baik Suryanto dan Tomi Wijaya bertempat tinggal di samping kiri kelenteng (masih dalam kompleks klenteng). Rumahnya berdempatan dengan klenteng dan terpisah dengan rumah anaknya yang juga berdempatan dengannya. Menurut Suryanto, sebelum Orde Baru berkuasa, tempat ibadah ini disebut kelenteng, dan umumnya orang di sekitar Vihara ini atau dari daerah-daerah di luar Jakarta menyebutnya kelenteng Ancol, karena sejak berdirinya bangunan ini disebut kelenteng dan lokasinya tidak jauh dari kawasan wisata Ancol.

Menurut Suryanto, kelenteng adalah tempat ibadah umat Khonghucu, sedangkan Vihara adalah tempat ibadah umat Buddha. Menurut dia, kelenteng yang asli di Vihara ini adalah tempat sembahyang dan makam untuk Iboe Siti Wati dan Sampo Soei Soei (Juru masak Cheng Ho dan suami dari iboe Siti Wati) dan makam Keramat Ancol Kota Paris Ebah Said Areli Dato Kembang dan Ibu Enneng (istri dari Embah Said). Seiring dengan perkembangan waktu, tempat ibadah ini ditambah beberapa tempat pemujaan, seperti tempat pemujaan Buddha, Dewi Kwan Im, Lao-Tse, Tempat sembahyang pada Thian (Tuhan) dan patung-patung binatang lainnya. Menurut dia, penambahan-penambahan ruangan inilah yang disebut dengan Vihara. Sedangkan tempat sembahyang untuk ibu Sosilawati dan Sampo Soei Soei (Juru masak Cheng Ho dan suami dari iboe Siti Wati), masih disebut kelenteng. Meskipun demikian, pintu gerbang masuk kelenteng sudah tertulis dengan nama Wihara Bahtera Bhakti Ancol Jakarta Utara.

Menarik juga untuk diperkenalkan di sini seorang juru kunci kelenteng yang sudah cukup lama bekerja di sini. Herman (50 tahun) adalah salah seorang juru kunci klenteng yang beragama Islam, dia sudah bekerja di kelenteng ini hamper 30 tahun. Tugasnya adalah melayani orang-orang yang akan melakukan pemujaan terhadap roh-roh dan dewa-dewa yang dipuja dan dihormati di kelenteng ini. Meskipun dia bekerja di kelenteng, namun dia tetap menjalankan ajaran Islam sesuai dengan yang ia yakini. Tidak hanya itu, anak-anak dan saudara-saudara yang menggunakan busana muslim, juga sering mengunjungi dia di kelenteng ini. Kehadiran muslim dan non muslim di kelenteng ini sudah menjadi lumrah dan tidak asing lagi dikalangan masyarakat.

Apa saja kegiatan dalam Vihara ini setiap harinya? Vihara ini buka pagi hari dan tutup pada malam hari sekitar pukul 21:00. Kegiatannya adalah melayani orang yang akan sembahyang dan berziarah ke makam. Orang sembahyang di Vihara ini ada yang datang secara individu dan ada juga yang berkelompok. Orang yang datang ke Vihara ini bukan saja berasal dari orang China, tapi juga berasal dari sukubangsa non China (beragama Islam). Dari agama juga bermacam-macam, ada di antara mereka yang beragama Tao, Khonghucu, Buddha dan Islam. Orang China datang ke tempat ini dengan

tujuan untuk sembahyang dan memohon sesuatu kepada makam-makam keramat, dan dewa-dewa yang ada di Vihara ini. Orang Islam yang datang ke tempat ini dengan tujuan ziarah ke kuburan Embah Said Areli Dato Kembang dan Iboe Enneng, kuburan Ibu Siti Wati dan Sampo Soei Soe (juru masaknya Cheng Ho). Selesai ziarah, mereka dapat memohon sesuatu kepada keempat orang yang dimakamkan di situ.

Menurut informasi yang didapatkan dari emak Onong (salah seorang pengurus penunggu makam Embah Said dan ibu Enneng), orang Islam yang yang datang ke makam Embah Said ada yang perorangan dan ada juga yang berkelompok. Menurut dia pernah ada rombongan umat Islam ke tempat ini sebanyak tiga bus dari Jawa Barat. Tujuan mereka datang ke tempat ini adalah untuk ziarah ke kuburan Embah Said, ibu Enneng, Sitti Wati dan Sam Po Soe Soe). Karena mereka datang pada pukul 02:00 pagi, maka penjaga kelenteng tidak membuka pintu pagar kelenteng. Alasannya tidak ada orang yang akan melayani mereka pada jam tersebut. Karena tidak dibuka pintu pagar kelenteng, maka rombongan umat Islam itu terpaksa kembali ke tempatnya masing-masing dan mereka kembali lagi pada hari yang lain.

Emak Onong juga mengatakan bahwa setiap jumat malam ada saja rombongan umat Islam yang melakukan ziarah ke makam Embah Said dan anaknya. Ruangan kosong di depan kuburan Embah Said cukup besar sekitar 4 x 7 metter, dan ditempat itu puluhan umat Islam menggelar tikar, membaca surat yasin dan tahlilan sebagaimana layaknya mereka melakukan pengajian di masjid-masjid. Apa yang mereka lakukan di tempat ini tidak ubahnya seperti apa yang dilakukan oleh peziarah-peziarah muslim di kuburan-kuburan muslim lainnya, yaitu membaca sebagianan ayat-ayat Quran, berdoa dan memohon pertolongan pada mereka. Selesai berziarah dan berdoa ke makam Embah Said dan anaknya, mereka juga tidak lupa berdoa dan memohon sesuatu kepada Tuhan. Hal yang sama juga mereka lakukan di depan kuburan Iboe Siti Wati dan Sampo Soei Soe yang terletak di bagian utama Vihara.

Biasanya umat Islam yang akan berziarah ke kuburan keramat (di dalam Vihara Ancol) ini, terlebih dahulu mereka berziarah ke kuburan Embah Said (berada di bagian belakang kelenteng) dan setelah itu baru mereka ziarah ke kuburan anaknya. Ini adalah struktur kebiasaan umat Islam yang lebih mendahulukan menghormati orang tua dari pada yang lebih muda. Tradisi semacam ini tidak hanya dilakukan oleh orang Islam, tapi juga orang China yang bukan beragama Islam. Untuk memberikan penghormatan atau memuja di tempat pemujaan iboe Siti Wat dan Sampo Soei Soe, mereka terlebih dahulu harus mengunjungi makam Embah Said dan ibu Enneng (rang tua dari ibu Siti Wati). Baik peziarah dari umat Islam maupun peziarah dari non Islam, selalu mendahulukan yang lebih tua baru yang muda untuk dikunjungi atau dimintai pertolongannya.

Menurut keterangan dari Suryanto (anak dari pemilik Vihara Bahtera Bhakti), beberapa bulan yang lalu (pada tahun 2015), organisasi FPI beserta sekitar 200 orang anggotanya, pernah berziarah ke makam Embah Said dan ibu Enneng dan juga ke makam iboe Siti Wati dan Sampo Soei Soe di Vihara ini.

Melihat kelompok FPI datang ke sini, Suryanto dan beberapa juru kunci Vihara sempat merasa ketakutan, karena dalam perkiraan mereka anggota FPI yang selama dipimpin oleh Habib Rizik hendak menghancurkan bangunan Vihara ini, namun dugaan mereka itu tidak benar, sebab kelompok FPI datang ke tempat ini adalah untuk tujuan baik, yaitu untuk berziarah ke makamnya Embah Said dan ibu Enneng dan juga ke makamnya iboe Siti Wati dan Sampo Soei Soe. Kelompok FPI pada waktu itu mengatakan bahwa kedatangan mereka ke tempat ini adalah untuk berziarah setelah terlebih dahulu mereka berziarah ke Embah Priuk. Karana jarak antara kramat Embah Priuk dan Vihara ini tidak begitu jauh, maka mereka menyempatkan diri untuk mampir ke tempat ini. Menurut beberapa juru kunci Vihara (kelenteng Ancol), anak buah Habib Rizik datang menggunakan motor dan pimpinannya menggunakan mobil. Salah satu yang dilakukan oleh kelomopok FPI di tempat ini adalah berziarah dan mendoakan orang-orang Islam yang dikuburkan di kompleks Vihara Bahtera Bhakti ini. Sama yang mereka lakukan ketika mereka berziarah ke makam Embah Priuk yang lokasinya tidak jauh dari situ dan makam-makam muslim lainnya.

D. Kesimpulan

Dapat kita simpulkan bahwa Vihara Bahtera Bhakti (kelenteng) Ancol tidak hanya dikunjungi oleh orang-orang China yang beragama non Islam, tapi juga dikunjungi oleh sebagian orang-orang Islam. Tujuan para pengunjung datang ke tempat ini bermacam-macam sesuai dengan keinginan masing-masing. Di antara mereka ada sebagian yang berkunjung ke sini hanya untuk sekedar berziarah kepada beberapa kuburan muslim di sini dan ada juga yang memohon sesuatu kepada roh-roh yang diyakini bersemayam di kuburan-kuburan tersebut. Jika permohonannya dikabulkan, maka mereka akan berkunjung kembali dalam kesempatan yang akan datang. Kedatangan mereka yang kedua kalinya tentu akan membawa makanan yang lebih banyak lagi dari yang pertama. Bagi mereka pemberian yang datang dari orang yang kita puja, haruslah dibalas dengan pemberian lagi, dan jika tidak mereka akan marah dan tidak akan mengabulkan permohonannya. Kasus ini menunjukkan bahwa meskipun perkembangan ilmu pengetahuan semakin maju, namun kepercayaan sebagian masyarakat juga semakin tinggi. Mengacu pada teori Marcell Mauss di atas, maka apa yang dilakukan orang muslim dan non muslim di dalam kelenteng Ancol sejalan dengan teori pemberian yang digatas oleh Marcel Mauss, yaitu pemberian harus dibalas dengan pemberian lagi atau penghormatan.

Dapat juga kita simpulkan bahwa Vihara Bahtera Bhakti (kelenteng Ancol) di Jakarta, bukan saja tempat orang beribadah, tempat orang berziarah ke kuburan orang muslim, tapi juga sebagai wadah persatuan antara umat-umat beragama di dalamnya. Islam dan penganut Buddha, Islam dan penganut Khonhucu dapat saling bekerjasama satu dengan yang lainnya. Keberadaan beberapa kuburan muslim di dalam kelenteng Ancol membuat sebagian orang muslim merasa berkeinginan untuk mengunjungi kelenteng Ancol, bukan

karena alasan untuk memuja beberapa dewa yang ada di sana sebagaimana dilakukan oleh umumnya orang China yang beragama Buddha, Khonghucu dan Tao, namun karena ingin berziarah ke beberapa kuburan muslim di sana. Keberadaan makam muslim di Vihara Bahtera Bhakti (kelenteng) Ancol di Jakarta dapat berfungsi sebagai wadah untuk mempersatukan umat-umat yang berbeda agama dalam sebuah Vihara. Makam muslim yang ada dalam lokasi bangunan kelenteng ini dapat berfungsi sebagai simbol dalam mempersatukan antar sukubansa dan antar agama.

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مساهمات علماء الأرخبيل في ابداع أوزان الشعر العربي وقوافيها: دراسة أسلوبية عن مخطوطات الأشعار للعلماء المياناكابوين

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الملخص : كان لمسلمي الأرخبيل منذ عدة قرون ماضية دور هام بالنسبة لتطور الحضارة الإسلامية وتقدماً في العالم الإسلامي. وقد ظهر عديد كبير من علماء الأرخبيل الذين يساهمون سهاماً وافراً في بناء الحضارة الإسلامية لشتي مجالات العلوم والمعارف الإسلامية. ومن أهم هذه المساهمات لعلماء الأرخبيل اشتراكهم في تطوير علوم اللغة العربية وأدتها حيث ألفوا عدة التأليفات المتضمنة على البحوث اللغوية والابتداعات الأدبية لتنمية هذه اللغة نفسها ونشر أدتها في العالم الإسلامي ولا سيما في الأرخبيل. وهذا ما يشير إليه بعض العلماء المياناكابوين بوضوح وصراحة في بعض تأليفاتهم الرائعة حيث أنهما يحاولون على أن يبتعدوا وبختروا ألواناً جديدة من أشكال الأشعار العربية في بعض كتاباتهم. ومن أمثلة هذه الابتداعات الشعرية نجدها فيما وضعه الشيخ محمد سعيد المونكاوي والشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد الخطيب المياناكابوبي والشيخ إساعيل المياناكابوبي والشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول المياناكابوبي لبعض أبياتهم الشعرية. وظهر في بعض التأليفات لهؤلاء العلماء روعان الأساليب ومتانة التراكيب حيث عرضوا في أبياتهم النواحي الجمالية والإبداعية لا سيما من ناحية الأوزان الشعرية وقوافي.

الكلمات المفتاحية: علماء الأرخبيل، ابداع، أوزان الشعر، القوافي.

المقدمة

وقد شاعت الآراء أمام الدارسين والباحثين أن كل أشياء التي تتعلق بالإسلام فرجعوا ما ينتجه عبقرية العلماء العربين أو ما يطبقه المجتمع العربي (Sihbudi, 1997: 77). وكانت نتيجتها الحتمية لهذه الآراء الشائعة أن بعض الباحثين والدارسين يرون نظرية احتقار وتذلل لمسلمي الأرخبيل بجميع إنتاجهم العقلية والتشكيرية في مجال المباحث الإسلامية ودراستها. وكأنوا يرون على أنه ليس لمسلمي الأرخبيل حظ وافر في أن يتكلموا عن الإسلام كما يستحق به المسلمين المأكثون في الشرق الأوسط أو البلاد العربية. وكان السبب الرئيسي لظهور هذه النظرة التحقيرية أن الإسلام وتعاليمه لم يعرفه مسلموا الأرخبيل إلا قبل قرون بسيرة قريبة. كما أنه لم يفهم علمائهم عن الإسلام إلا في أمور بسيطة. وبذلك أن الباحثين يتأكدون على أن كثيراً من إنتاج الأفكار الإسلامية لمسلمي الأرخبيل وعلمائهم كانت مقتبسة من علماء العرب أو الشرق الأوسط. وفضلاً على ذلك أن بعض الباحثين زعموا أن الكتب التي ألفها علماء الأرخبيل لا تنتج من أفكارهم الأصلية بل يأخذونها من علماء الشرق الأوسط على وجه

²⁴ وكانت بعض هذه المقالة مقتبسة من رسالتي الالكترونية في الجامعة شريف هداية الله حاكيتا بالمللوضوع "ساسرا عرب صوفستيك نوسنستار: أوريسناليتاس غاغاسن دان ستيلستكا كاريما شيخ إمامعامل المياناكابوبي (2014).

الإطلاق أفكاراً وأساليب. وبالتالي كأن هذا الرأي لم يكن خطأً على الإطلاق كما أنه لم يكن صحيحاً تماماً الصحة حيث وجدنا هناك كثيراً من الإنتاج الفكرية لعلماء الأرخين مأخوذة مباشرة وترجمة فورية من الأفكار لعلماء العرب أو الشرق الأوسط. ولكن هناك شيء الذي ينبغي لنا ألا ننساه وجود عديد كبير من التأثيرات لعلماء الأرخين التي ظهرت من مجرد أفكارهم ونيلاتهم بل كان لديهم قدرة وافية في أن يعبروا عن هذه الأفكار الأصلية بأساليب رائعة بشتى اللغات وحتى أنفسهم يستطيعون أن يركبواها بالأساليب العربية السحرية الممتعة مع تركيب الجمل الجميلة المبنية (Azra, 1999: 66).

وقد ظهر عديد كبير من العلماء المياناكابوين الشهيرين التابعين في العلوم الدينية والعلوم اللغوية وكثروا يحاولون على إظهار دوراتهم الهمامة عند المجتمع الإسلامي في شتى مجالات الحياة عملياً كان أم سياسياً أم اجتماعياً أم اقتصادياً وما أشبه ذلك (Azra, 2005: 45-46). وترعرع كثير من كبار العلماء المشهورين في مياناكابو نفسها منذ عدة قرون سابقة مثل الشيخ أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي والشيخ برهان الدين أولakan، والشيخ إبراهيم كومبولان والشيخ داود سنتور والشيخ إسماعيل السماوي والشيخ سعد المونكاوي وغيرهم من العلماء المياناكابوين حيث يكون من الصعب إحصاؤهم (Burhanuddin, 2012: 88). وفي مجال تطور علوم اللغة والأدب العربي يكتفي أن نقدم أشهر الأسباء مثل الشيخ إسماعيل السماوي والمياناكابوي والشيخ سعد مونكا المياناكابوي والشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد الخطيب المياناكابوي والشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول المياناكابوي. وكان لهؤلاء العلماء الكبار مساهمات عظيمة في تطوير الأدب العربي لا سيما في الأرخين على وجه خاص والعالم الإسلامي على وجه عام من ابتكاراتهم وابتكاراتهم وأبتكاراتهم لأشكال الأشعار العربية وأنواع أساليبها. وهذا المظاهر من المظاهر اللغوية والأدبية التي يزيدوها الكاتب أن يقدّمها في هذه المقالة التصويرية المحدودة.

المنهجية

قد جعل الكاتب بعض الخطوطات القديمة التي ألفها العلماء المياناكابوين على أشكال الأبيات الشعرية مصدراً أساسياً لهذا البحث. وقام الكاتب باطلاع عميق دقيق على بعض الأبيات الشعرية لهؤلاء العلماء المياناكابوين مع النظر إلى طريقة وضع أوزان الشعرية وقوافيها المعيارية التي وضعها مبتكر هذا العلم الجليل الشيخ أحمد بن خليل وابنها الشاعر العربيون القدماء وجرى على تنظيم أوزان أشعارهم وقوافيه منذ القدم. وكانت هذه الملاحظة العميقية التي أفادها الكاتب لتحقيق على أصله الإنتاج الأدبية لعلماء الأرخين لا سيما المكتوبة بالعربية التي كتبها العلماء الأرخين على وجه عام والعلماء المياناكابيون على وجه خاص وكذا أن هذه الملاحظة الدقيقة لتدل على أهمية دور العلماء الأرخين في تطوير اللغة العربية وأدبها.

بعض كبار علماء المياناكابوين المبدعين في الأدب العربي وتلقياتهم الشيخ إسماعيل السماوي المياناكابوي

وولد الشيخ إسماعيل في سيمابور باتو سانكار (Batu Sangkar) سومطرة الغربية مع أنه لم يعرف بالضبط سنة ولادته (عبد الله, د.ت: 13). وكان الشيخ إسماعيل الخالدي المياناكابوي يبدأ دراسته عن الإسلام بقراءة القرآن في قريته تحت إشراف والده عبد الله. وكما تعلم من بعض العلماء المحليين قراءة الكتب الدينية الأخرى المكتوبة بالملائيوية والعربية من كتب الفقه والتوصيف وعلم الكلام والتفسير والحديث والعلوم اللغوية (أبو الحير، 1986: 13). وصار الشيخ إسماعيل عند شبابه غلاماً متعطشاً جائعاً طامعاً للعلوم والمعارف الإسلامية فعزم إلى

مواصلة دراسته إلى مكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة حتى استقر في هاتين المدينتين المقدستين ما يقرب خمسة وثلاثين عاماً (Sholihin, 2005: 77).

وفي هذه الأرض المقدسة درس العلوم المختلفة من كبار العلماء والمشايخ المشهورين مثل الشيخ عثمان الدميري والشيخ أحمد الدميري والشيخ محمد سعيد بن علي الشافعي المكي القدسي والشيخ أحمد بن عطاء الله الأزهري والشيخ عبد الله الشرقاوي والشيخ عبد الله أفندي الأرزنجاني الحالدي والشيخ خالد شيخ عثمان الكردي والشيخ محمد بن علي الشناوي وغيرهم من علماء عصره (Bruinessen, 2007: 226-227). وأخذ علم الحقيقة والحقيقة من الشيخ عبد الله أفندي الحالدي خليفة للشيخ خالد عثمان الكردي كما أنه كان يتلقى أيضاً بالشيخ خالد عثمان الكردي نفسه حيث أنه اشتهر بمكانته مجدداً ومكملاً لتعاليم الطريقة النقشبندية في جبل قيس بمكة المكرمة. وأخذ الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي مع صاحبه الشيخ سليمان القرمي مبادعة مباشرة من الشيخ عبد الله أفندي الحالدي وحصل منه الإجازة في الطريقة النقشبندية الحالدية حتى جعله الشيخ عبد الله أفندي خليفة ومرشداً للطريقة النقشبندية في جبل القيس (Copty, 2003: 326).

وبعد هذه المدة الطويلة من دراسته في مكة المكرمة عزم الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي بالعودة إلى الأرخبيل لأن يبدأ نشاطه في نشر تعاليم الطريقة النقشبندية الحالدية وسط مجتمع الأرخبيل. وعندما وصل إلى الأرخبيل اتّخذ الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي سنغافوره (Singapura) مسكنًا ومستقراً له فيبدأ فيها خط الانطلاق لأمور دعوته بين الناس (Laffan, 2011: 43-44). وقد مرت فترة قصيرة من مكث الشيخ إسماعيل السياوي الميانكاكيوي واستقراره في سنغافوره إلا أن الملك يانغ ديرتون مودا رجا علي (Yang Dipertuan Muda Raja Ali) في رياو يسمع شهرة هذا الشيخ العالم فجاء الملك نفسه إلى سنغافوره لسماعه ويفتتح له مكتب الشيخ إسماعيل الحضور إلى مملكته في جزيرة فنيغات (Pulau Penyengat) وطلب منه إقامة في هذه الجزيرة عند أسرة المملكة رياوا. فينصب سلطان رجا علي على الشيخ إسماعيل مستشاراً له ومرشداً لعائلة المملكة، بل صار آخر راج على (Raja Ali) وهو الملك عبد الله خليفة للشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي في الطريقة النقشبندية هناك (Brinnsen, 1994: 99). وبالإضافة إلى استقراره ومكنته في المملكة رياوا كان الشيخ إسماعيل يرتحل أيضاً بعض المناطق في سلطنة جوهر ولاية كيدا بـماليزيا (Johor Wilayah Kedah Malaysia) ويعيش فيها بضعة سنين قبل عودته إلى مكة المكرمة لقضاء بقية عمره (Bruinessen, 1994: 100).

وكان هناك عدة تأليفات الشهيرة التي تم إنشاؤها بيد الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي طول حياته. فالشيء الذي يجلب الانتباه أن كل هذه التأليفات كانت أللها الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي ليس في ميانكاكيوي بل في مختلف المناطق للأرخبيل مثل سنغافورة وملكة رياوا وشبة ماليزيا وغيرها من المناطق التي سكن بها الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاكيوي. ومن أشهر التأليفات التي وضعها الشيخ إسماعيل هي مخطوطة "المهل العذب لذكر القلب". وكانت هذه المخطوطة من أهم المخطوطات بالنسبة إلى تعاليم الطريقة النقشبندية الحالدية وتاريخ انتشارها في الأرخبيل. وكما أن هذه المخطوطة صارت دليلاً قوياً على تملكه للعلوم العربية وأدبيها تملكاً وافراً واسعاً. ومن أسباب استدعاء هذه المخطوطة إشارة واضحة على تفوق المؤلف في العلوم اللغوية وأدبيها وهي الطريقة المستخدمة له في التعبير عن أفكاره وتركيب أساليبه حيث أن هذه المخطوطة مكونة من الآيات على شكل النظم أو المقطوعات الشعرية أو القصيدة المتکاملة بالأوزان والبحور والقوافي الجميلة المتينة. وقد تم تأليف هذه المخطوطة في بلاد رياوا (Riau) عام 1245 هـ وسماها المهل كما كتب بها المصنف (Hadi, 2011: 27). وهذه المعلومات ما نجدها في بعض الصفحات للمخطوطة:

يَوْمَ ثَلُوثٍ أَطْبَبُ الْعَيْدِ فِي رَبِّوٍ * بَيْتُ سُلْوَكٍ نَظَمُهَا قَدْ تَكَمَّلَأَ (إِسْاعِيلٌ: 2)
 قَدْ تَمَّ نَظُمُ هَذِهِ الْأَرْجُوْرَةِ * أَبَيَاهَا فِي عَلِيهِ اسْتَغَرَثَ 1245 (إِسْاعِيلٌ: 42)
 سَيِّئَهَا لَمَّا صَفَّتْ عَنْ تَوْبٍ * بِالْمُهْنَلِ الْعَدْبِ لِذِكْرِ الْقَلْبِ (إِسْاعِيلٌ: 54)

الشيخ سعد المونكاوي الميانكاكياوي

كان الشيخ سعد المونكاوي الذي اشتهر بالشيخ مونكا (Mungka) أحد كبار العلماء المياناكابوين الملقب بالشيخ المشايخ حيث أنه يعتبر من كبار زعاء الطريقة النقشبندية الحالدية في مياناكابو. ولد في كوتو تروا مونكا ياكابوه (Koto Tuo Mungka Payakumbuh) سنة 1857 للميلاد من والد عالم صالح وهو محمد طنطا. وبدأ دراسته في العلوم الدينية مع علماء عصره في تلك القرية من الشيخ أبو بكر تابينغ (Abu Bakar Tabing) (المتوفى، 1889 للميلادي) والشيخ محمد جميل تونكور (Muhammad Jamil Tungkur) (المتوفى، 1912 للميلادي) والشيخ محمد صالح باتننغ كاندينج (Muhammad Shalih Batang Kandih) (المتوفى، 1890 للميلادي). وبعد هذه المدة لتعلم في قريته سافر إلى مكة المكرمة والمدينة المنورة حتى ذهب إلى اليمن سنة 1894-1889 للميلادي وسنة 1912-1915 للميلادي. في هذه الأراضي المقدسة تعلم من كبار العلماء المسلمين فيها مثل الشيخ أحمد زين دهلان والشيخ محمد حسب الله المكي والشيخ أحمد بن زين الدين الفطاني والشيخ الزروي وغيرهم من شهير علماء عصره.

وبعد عودته إلى سومطرة الغربية أقام مدرسة أو ما نسميه بالمصطلح الشهير في مياناكاباو بـ "سوراو" (Surau). وسيالشيخ سعد المونكاوي هذه المدرسة بـ "سوراو بارو" (Surau Baru) حيث جاء إليه عديد كبير من طلاب العلم ليس من منطقة مونكا فحسب بل كانوا من شتى المناطق خارج مياناكابو. وقد اشتهر الشيخ سعد المونكاوي بجادلته العلمية مع الشيخ أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي التي قامت بطريقة المراسلات المزمرة وتحادلا فيها حول الأمور الدينية المختلفة. وتحصل من هذه المجادلات العنيفة عن طريقة تلك المراسلات أربعة كتب كبيرة منها كتاب "إظهار زغل الكاذبين في تشيمهم بالصادفين" وكتاب "إرغام أئف متنعين في إنكارهم رابطة الوالصلين" وغيره من الكتب الشهيرة (Burhanudin, 2012: 339). وفي مجال الأدب العربي ألف الشيخ المونكاوي كتاب عن سلسلة الطريقة النقشبندية الحالدية على شكل المنظومات الرائعة المبنية حيث سيعرضها الكاتب في هذا المقالة. وسي هذا التأليف بـ "نظم سلسلة الطريقة" التي تتكون مما يقرب مائة بيت.

الشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي

وهو الشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي العالم المياناكابوي الشهير والإمام الحرمين الشريفين. وقد اشتهر في مجال الأدب العربي حتى يكون معلماً في المسجد الحرام وأرسلته المملكة السعودية إلى باكستان سفيراً للملكة مدة سنتين. ولد الشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي في مكة المكرمة ونشأ فيها وأخذ العلوم واللغة العربية من والده الشيخ أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي ومن كبار علماء مكة آنذاك (Mudhafier, 2013: 3). وترعرع في اللغة والأدب حتى يؤلف بعض الكتب الشهيرة على شكل المنظومات الرائعة السحرية. من أهم تأليفاته الرائعة في مجال الأدب العربي هي كتاب "نوح البردة" و "مناجة الله" حيث يتضمن هذان الكتابان المذاخ النبوية الرائعة مع أنها تختلف بكثير من كتاب المذاخ النبوية الشهير الذي ألفه الشيخ بصيري وينتشر في كثير من بلدان إسلامية منذ القدم. نعم، أن الشيخ عبد الحميد بن أحمد خطيب المياناكابوي ما ولد في الأرخبيل وما نشأ في مياناكابو وما عاش في هذه المنطقة، ولكن معظم تأليفاته منتشرة بين العلماء المسلمين المياناكابوين حتى كأنه عاش

يبنهم بسبب قوة التأثير لهذه التأليفات عند سكان البلاد. ووجد الكاتب كثير من تأليفاته عند خزانة بعض المسلمين المنتشرة في شتى مناطق مينانكايو مثل أغام بوكيت تينغي (Agam Bukittinggi) وغيرها من المدن والقرى في سومطرة الغربية. وهذه الحالة صارت دليلاً قوية على وجود تأثير هذا العالم عند المجتمع المسلمين في الأرخبيل لا سيما في مينانكايو عند مجال الشرائع الإسلامية والأدب العربي حيث أحب الناس إنتاجه الأدبية وحاولوا على نشر هذه التأليفات البارعة فيها ببنهم.

الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول المينانكايوبي

وهو الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول المينانكايوبي أحد كبار العلماء المينانكايوبيين في بداية القرن التاسع عشر للميلادي. وكان ولد في قرية ساوه نان غادانغ بنجول باسامان الغربية (Sawah Nan Gadang Bonjol Pasaman Barat) سومطرة الغربية في اليوم 20 من أبريل سنة 1881 للميلادي. وكان والده عالماً شهيراً في قرية بنجول اسمه سوتان مودوا (Sutan Mudo) ولكنه توفي عندما يكون عمر الشيخ محمد سعيد ثلاث سنوات حتى صار على كثيل أمه صالحه وحدها منذ أيام طفولته. وفي الثامنة من عمره سافر إلى مالايا (ماليزيا اليوم) لمقابلة أخيه فيها لأن والده قبل أن زوج أنه قد تزوج بأمرأة من مالايا وتولد منها ولد. واستقر محمد سعيد في مالايا بضعة سنين حيث تعلم بها في بعض المدراس التقليدية.

وبعد سنوات عديدة من مكثه في مالايا عزم العودة إلى مستوطنه رأسه سومطرة الغربية لتعلم العلوم الإسلامية من العلماء المشهورين آنذاك في باسامان. وبعد وصوله إلى سومطرة الغربية أخذ يتعلم مع بعض علماء عصره مثل الشيخ جال الدين والشيخ إينياك تانجوونغ بونغوا وحتى أخذ العلوم الدينية من الشيخ إبراهيم كوبولان الذي اشتهر باللقب إينياك باندung سوراو باتو كونفولان (Inyiak Bandang Surau Batu Kumpulan). وكان الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول متوفياً سنة 1979 الميلادي ودفن في بنجول باسامان الشرقية.

من أهم تأليفاته في مجال العقيدة واللغة هي مخطوطة "نظم الوصية" وكانت هذه المخطوطة نسخة قديمة متضمنة على حديث عن العقائد الإسلامية أو ما نسمى بعلم الكلام أو التوحيد التي ألفها في السنة 1340 للهجرة. وكانت هذه المخطوطة مخزونة عند خزانة الأسرة للشيخ سعيد بنجول في باسامان سومطرة الغربية. وقد تم تأليف هذه المخطوطة يوم الأربعاء 25 جادي الأخير في سوراو أنفعيك حاج سعيد بنجول سومطرة الغربية.

وهذه المخطوطة مكتوبة على شكل النظم الشعري حيث يتكون أكثر من ألف بيت بجمالية الأساليب وتنوع القوافي الشعرية فيها. ومن العجب لهذه المخطوطة أن المؤلف حاول أن يشرح عن اختلافات العقائد عند المسلمين صحيحة كانت أم فاسدة وبهذه الآيات وينتقد بها المؤلف مدى تأثير هذه الأراء العقائدية الفاسدة على حياة المسلمين في تقديمهم أو تأخرهم. ولكن هذه الانتقادات مقدمة على روعة الجمل مع الأوزان والقوافي الشعرية الرائعة حتى لا يشعر القراء والمتقددون حد فقد المؤلف على هذه الإختلافات المذهبية الكلامية عند المسلمين في مختلف بقاع العالم.

ابداع الأوزان في الأيات الشعرية للعلماء المينانكايوبيين

3. الأوزان الشعرية وابداعها في مخطوطة "المهل" للشيخ إسماعيل

أوزان البيت هي سلسلة السواكن والمحركات المستنجة منه، مجرأة إلى مستويات مختلفة من المكونات: الشطران، التفاعيل، الأسباب والأوتأد (حركات، 1998: 7). وقد يسمى أيضاً الوزن بالبحر وهو الوزن الموسيقي الذي تسير عليه القصيدة في أبياتها جميعاً. ويكون هذا البحر من تفعيلات وهي وحدة الموسيقية في

البعر أو هي كلمة من كلماته وعدد التفعيلات ثمان، وهي فعلون، فاعلن، مفاعيلن، مفاععلن، متفاعلن، مستفعلن، فاعلاتن، مفعولات (الهاشمي، 1991: 12)

ومن رواية الأساليب الأدبية المعاشرة في بعض الآيات للشيخ إساعيل الميانكابوي تظهر في إبداعه عند اختيار الأنفاس فيها وترأكيم الجمل واللغات المجازية من التشبيهات والاستعارات حتى خروج المؤلف من عادات الأدباء العربين في وضع أشكال أشعارهم وهو ما نسمى بمخالفة القياس اللغوي. ومن رواية الأساليب التي وضعها الشيخ إساعيل السمابوري الميانكابوي في بعض آياته عند تكوينه عن البحور والأوزان الشعرية حيث أحضر بعض النماذج التي ما تعود عليها وسلك بها بعض الشعراء العربين القدماء في وضع أشعارهم. وفي بعض الأحيان حاول الشيخ إساعيل الميانكابوي أن يخرج من القواعد الموضوعة في بناء أبياته الشعرية. وأبدع الشيخ إساعيل الميانكابوي في هذه الأشياء لحصوله على قيمة فنية سحرية في بعض آياته. وفضلاً عن ذلك، أن الإبداعات الأصلوية للشيخ إساعيل الميانكابوي تأتي من حيث البحور والتقواف المستخدمة في أبياته كما في المثال التالي:

* فَلَا بُدَّ مِنْ صِبْغٍ لِّذِاتِكَ أَوْلًا وَأَيُّ مَقَامٍ كُنْتَ تُلْقَى فِيْوَصَهُ

* فَلَا بُدْ لِأَدْمِنْ صِبْغَةِ لِذَاتِكَ أَوْ وَلَاءِ وَأَيِّ بُجُونَفِيمْ كُنْ اَتْ تُلْقِي فِيْضَهُ

o\|o\|\ | o\|o\| o\|o\|\ | o\|o\|\ | \\\|o\|

فَعُولُنْ | فَعُولُنْ | فَاعِلَاث | مَفَاعِلُنْ

المكوفة | ؟ | السالمة | المقبوسة | ؟ | السالمة | المذوفة | ؟ | المقبوسة

وفي هذا البيت استخدم الشیخ إسماعیل المیانکابوی البحر الطویل، ولكنه أدخل فيه تفعیلتين اللذین لا تستخدمان فی البحر الطویل وھما تفعیلة "مفعولون" وتفعیلة "فاعلات". وكانت هتان التفعیلتان لا تستخدمان إلا فی البحور غير الطویل. أما التفعیلة "فاعلات" لا تستخدمن إلا فی البحر الرمل عند الزحاف المکوفة، والتفعیلة "مفعولون" لا يستعملها الأدیاء القدماء إلا فی البحر المخیف عند زحاف التشیعیت (عقل، 1999: 39-44).

وهذا من مميزات الآيات للشيخ إسحائيل الميانكاوي حيث أنها لا تقتيد ولا تخضع بغير معين من البهور المستخدمة المعروفة عند أدباء العرب القدماء وشعرائهم على وجه الإطلاق. ولكنه أبدع نوعاً جديداً من الأوزان والبهور والتفاعيل حيث أنه يخلط فيها بعضها ببعضها للحصول على قيمة فنية رائعة. وزيادة عن ذلك أن الشيخ إسحائيل الميانكاوي استخدم بعض البهور والتفعيلات التي اعتبرها الأدباء العربون وحتى المبدع لهذا العلم الجليل وهو العالم الخليل بن أحمد الفراهيدي بحراً رديناً قبيحاً وهو استخدام تفعيلة للزحاف المكوفة كما رأينا في أحد التفعيلات السابقة (مصطفى، 1996: 40).

وأما في بعض أبياته الأخرى وضع الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكاوي نوعا آخر من البحور الشعرية التي تختلف من البحور المستخدمة في البيت السابق حيث قدم أشكال معيارية من التفعيلات حتى نراها تتقييد تمام متشدد بالبحور التي وضعها مبدع هذا العلم الجليل كنا نراه في أحد أبياته التالية.

* إِلَّا بِوَاسِطَةِ لَهُ مُنَايِّبٍ لَمْ يَقْدِرْ الْكُتُبَابُ فَيُضِّلُّوا هَبِّ

لَمْ يَقْدِرْكُ | تِسَابٌ فِي | ضَلْوَاهِبِي | إِلَّا بِوَا | سِطْنَاهُو | مُنَاسِبِي

o\|o\| | o\|o\| | o\|o\|o\| o\|o\|o\| | o\|o\| | o\|o\|o\|

مُسْتَفْعِلْنَ | مَفَاعِلْنَ | مُسْتَفْعِلْنَ

السالمة | المحبونة | المحبونة السالمة

وفي هذا الـبيـت اختـار الشـيخ إسـماعـيل المـيـناـكـابـوي الـبـر الرـجـز التـام بـتقـديـم اختـلاف التـفعـيلـة بـين العـروـض الضـرب لـلـبيـت (عـمـان، 2004: 79). وـكان الشـيخ إسـماعـيل المـيـناـكـابـوي يـسـتـخدـم التـفعـيلـة السـالـمة فـي العـروـض وـهـي "مسـتفـعلـن" وـيـسـتـخدـم التـفعـيلـة بالـرـحـاف الـخـبـوـنة فـي الضـرب وـهـي "ماـفـاعـلـن". وـظـهـر عدم استـقـامـة الشـيخ إسـماعـيل المـيـناـكـابـوي عـلـى هـذـا السـيـاق فـي تـسوـيـة بـيـن التـفعـيلـات فـي العـروـض وـالـضـرب. وـلـكـن هـذـا لا يـضـعـه الشـيخ إسـماعـيل المـيـناـكـابـوي إلـى فـي الأـيـات بـالـقـوـافـي العـيـارـية لـا سـواـهـا.

ومن العجب العجاب لهذه الآيات التي وضعها الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكابوي تسميتها على هذه البحور بـ "اللأرجوزة"، وهي جمع من كلمة الرجز، كما في البيت التالي.

قَدْ مَمَّ نَظَمَ هَذِهِ الْأَرْجُوْزَةُ * أَيْمَاتُهَا فِي عِلْمِهِ اسْتَقَرَّتْ

(اسکائیل: 42)

وأغلب الطن أن تسمية هذه الأبيات التي وضعها الشيخ إسماعيل الميانكيوي بـ "الأرجوزة" لمعظم أبياتها مكونة بالبحر "الرجز". وبهذا كان من السهولة أن نجد في بعض أبياته أشكال الأبيات التي تعرفها بالبيت "المقفي" كما رأينا في البيت السابق. ولكنه، كانت تسمية أبياته بالصطلاحة "الأرجوزة" شيئاً عجياً لأن هذه الصطلاحة لا تستخدم إلا للأبيات المشطورة وهي الأبيات التي تحذف مصراعاً منها ويبقى نصفها (عبد اللطيف، 1999: 64-65)، مثل البيت التالي:

مَا هَاجَ أَحْرَانًا وَشَجُوْ قَدْ شَجَ
مَا هَاجَ أَخَا زَائِنَ وَشَجَ | وَنَقَّدْ شَجَ
سَتَّعْلُمْ مُسْتَعْلُمْ مُسْتَعْلُمْ

أما في الآيات السابقة التي وضعها الشيخ إساعيل الميناكيبوي في نظمه على وجوه الآيات التامة وهي مكونة من المصاعين. وهذا السبب نستطيع أن نقول أن الشيخ إساعيل الميناكيبوي كان يحاول إلى إحضار الألوان الجديدة في تكوين الأساليب لأبياته وحيث أنه ابتكر على تسمية الآيات بالصطلاحة الجديدة في مجال الأدب العربي ليدل إلى الشعراء العربين في العالم الإسلامي أن لمسامي الأرخييل حظا وافرا في أن يضعوا لونا آخر من الألوان الأدب العربي حتى صار لديهم منصب سوي في اختراعهم وابتكارهم عن النماذج الجديدة في الأدب العربي.

4. الأوزان الشعرية وابتداعها في مخطوطه "نظم سلسلة" للشيخ سعد المنكاوى

وكان للشيخ سعد المنكاوي عدة الآيات السحرية المتعلقة بتعاليم الطريقة النقشبندية ولا سيما الآيات المتعلقة بمحاولته للدفاع عن تعاليم الطريقة النقشبندية من هجوم العلماء الآخرين الكارهين بها. ولكن من حيث حالة التراكيز يظهر فيها تكوين الأساليب لا تقل روعته وسحرته و حتى أن الشيخ سعد المنكاوي بحاول على إحضار الأدلة الجديدة في بعض النواحي الأسلوبية لأبياته لا سيما عند اختيار البحور والتقوافي كأسندها في البيت التالي:

وكانتا هذا المقتدى إلى	وكانتا هاذلثف تي إلى
01/01/11 01/01/11	01/01/11 01/01/11
مُتَقَاعِلٌ مُتَقَاعِلٌ	مُتَقَاعِلٌ مُتَقَاعِلٌ
السلامة السالمة	السلامة ؟
؟	(المكتوب: 1)

قد استخدم الشيخ سعد المنكاوي في هذا البيت لأوزان شعره البحر "الكامل" حيث بدأ تفعيلية الشعريّة بـ "متفاعلن" (الهاشمي، 2006: 66). ولكن هناك شيء لا يكُون الشعراء القدماء يتَّعِدون في تكوين أبياتهم على أنه وضع التفعيلتين اللتين لم تعرِفَا في البحر "الكامل" وهما التفعيلية "متفاعلن" في العروض وكذا التفعيلية "مفعلن" في الضرب. أما التفعيلية "متفاعلن" لا يوجد إلا في البحر "الهزج" للزحاف "المقوضة". أما التقطيع "مفعلن" لا يوجد إلا في البحر "الرجز" (المطيري، 2004: 58 و 70). فكانت هذه المظاهر الأوزانية للأشعار التي صنعتها بعض كبار علمائنا السابقين تدل على سعة مهارة علماء الأرخبيل وتفوقهم في تصميم ألوان التفعيلات الجديدة للشعر العربي التي لا تقل روعتها وجمالتها. وكذلك ما نراه من اختراع الشيخ سعد المنكاوي عند تكوين العجور لأبياته الأخرى مثل ما نراه في البيت التالي:

<p>فُحَامِلٌ فَسْلِمُوا بِجُهُورٍ</p> <p>فُحَامِلُنْ افْسِلِمُو بِجُهُورِيْ</p> <p>مُتَقَاعِلُنْ مَعَالِنْ مُتَقَاعِلْ</p> <p>السَّالِمَة الْمُوقَصَة ؟</p>	<p>وَهِيَ اثْنَا عَشَرَ رُبْعَةً وَنَصْ</p> <p>وَهِيَثَنَا عَشَرَ رُبْعَيْ بِيَتُوْضَ</p> <p>مُتَقَاعِلُنْ مَعَالِنْ مُتَقَاعِلْ</p> <p>السَّالِمَة ؟ الْمُوقَصَة</p>
<p>0\ 0\ \ 0\ 0\ \ </p>	<p>0\ 0\ \ 0\ 0\ \ </p>

وقد رأينا في هذا البيت أن الشيخ سعد المكاوي مازال يستخدم البحر "الكامل" في تكوين التفعيلات لشعره إلا أنه يحاول على أن يحضر نوع التناقض في الصوت التفعيلية بين العروض والضرب. ولا يمكنني بإحضار التناقض في التفعيلية بين العروض والضرب وحدها وقد وجدها في هذا البيت أن الشيخ سعد المكاوي أحضر النغم العروضي الغريب حيث لم يحضره الشعرا القدماء. وهو إحضار التفعيلتين "مُفْتَلِّنْ" و "مُنْقَاعِلْ". أما التفعيلية "مُفْتَلِّنْ" لا يوجد إلا في البحر "السرير" المحبوبة كما سبق بيانه في البيت السابق. وأما التفعيلية "مُنْقَاعِلْ" لا يوجد في جميع التفعيلات العروضية لأبي بحر من بحور شعرية. نعم، هناك تفعيلة غريبة كثيرة عند أهل العروضين في وضع الأوزان الشعرية وحتى اعتبره الخليل المبكر لعلم العروض والقافية بأنها كانت التفعيلة قبيحة رديئة وهي التفعيلة "مُنْقَاعِلْ" التي توجد في البحر "الطويل" المكوفة (مصنفى، 1996: 40). وهناك ابتعد بعض الشعراء لأن يستخدموها في تكوين هذه التفعيلات الرديئة لأبياتهم. ولكن الشيخ سعد المكاوي لا يبتعد عن استخدام التفعيلات الرديئة بل اتخذ تفعيلة غريبة التي لا يعرفها الشعراء القدماء في بحورهم وهي التفعيلة "مُنْقَاعِلْ". وهذه الطريقة المستخدمة لتكون التفعيلة العرضية عند الشيخ سعد المكاوي دليل على محاولته إلى ابتكار الأشياء الجديدة من النادر الحديثة في سياق بحور الأشعار العربية.

4.3. الأوزان الشعرية وأبداعتها في كتاب "مناجاة الله" للشيخ عبد الحميد

وكان للشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكوي كتابان الشهيران عن الأدب العربي وهما كتاب "نهر البردة" وكتاب "مناجة الله". وكان هذان الكتابان لغلهما الشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكوي على شكل النظم الشعري الرائع. ويكون هذان الكتابان أكثر من ألف بيت شعر حيث يتضمن فيه المدائح النبوية والمذكرات الرايحة عن سعادة الحياة الدنية والأخروية. ومن ناحية روعة الأساليب قد وجدنا في تلك الأيات الشعرية إيداعات الشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكوي لا سيما عند محاولته إلى إحضار ألوان الأوزان الشعرية وقوافيه الجديدة وحتى تقديم الأشياء من الأوزان والقوافي للأشعار العربية حيث لم يقدحها الشعراء القدماء. ومن هذه الروايات وإيداعات ما نزاه في البيت التالية.

يَا مَنْ يُرِيدُ الْفُورَ فِي الدَّارِينَ لَا نَطَّلُمْ سِوَاكَ وَلَا زَمَنَ الْخَيْرَاتِ

يامن يري دلقوز فد دارين لا	ظلم سوا كولازيل حيراني
0\0\0\0\0 0\0\0\0\0 0\0\0\0\0	0\0\0\0\0 0\0\0\0\0
مستعملن مستعملن مستعملن	مستعملن مستعملن مستعملن
السالمة السالمة السالمة	؟ المقطوعة

(عبد الحميد، 20)

وقد اختار الشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكبوبي في هذه البيت البحر "الرجز التام" بالعرض الصحيحه والضرب المقطوعه حيث اختتم الشطر الأول بالتفعيلة "مستعملن" والشطر الثاني بالتفعيلة "متعولن" (الهاشمي، 1991: 49-50). ولكن من العجب بالنسبة للأوزان الشعرية العربية حيناً أحضر الشيخ عبد الحميد التفعيلة الواحدة في هذا البيت التي لم يعرفها الشعراء القدماء في البحر الرجز وهي التفعيلة "متفاعلن". كما هو معروف لما الشعراء والنقاد العربين أن هذه التفعيلة الشعرية لا توجد في البحر الرجز منذ بداية وضع علم العروض والقافية. وكانت هذه التفعيلة "متفاعلن" أنها لا تأتي إلا في البحر الكامل. وفي هذا السياق حاول الشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكبوبي إلى أن يشير شجاعته في أن يخرج من القواعد العروضية في بعض أبياته للحصول على ناحية الروعة الجمالية. وهذا المظهر من المظاهر الإبداعية يتضح لنا سعة التملك للعلماء الميانكابوبيين على العلوم الأدبية حيث أنهن يرون حرية الشعراء في تكوين أشعارهم دون أن يتقيدوا بالقوانين الجارية عند الأدباء القدماء. بهذه الطريقة أراد الشيخ عبد الحميد الميانكبوبي أن يقولوا للنقاد العربين على أن هذه القواعد الشعرية التي وضعها العلماء القدماء ليست شيئاً ثابتاً جامداً لا يمكن للمتأخرین تحويلها إلى وجه التجديد للتحقيق على روعة التعبير وجمالية الأساليب في أشعارهم وقصائدهم.

4. إبداع القوافي في الأيات الشعرية للعلماء الميانكابوبيين

1. الكافية للأيات الشعرية وابداعها في مخطوطة "المنهل" للشيخ إسماعيل

القوافي هي المقاطع الصوتية التي تكون في أواخر أبيات التصيدة، وهي المقاطع التي يلزم تكرار نوعها في كل بيت. فأول بيت في قصيدة الشعر "الملازم" يتحكم في بقية التصيدة من حيث الوزن العروضي، ومن حيث نوع الكافية. فإذا وضع الشاعر في مطلع قصيده بكلمة مثل "القمر" بسكون الراء فإنه يتضمن أن يختتم بقية الأيات براء ساكنة مثل "السمر، العبر، إلخ." وإذا أورد الراء متحركة بالكسر في البيت الأول فيلزم كسر الراء فيما يلي من الأيات (درويش، 1976: 93).

وإذا نظرنا إلى الأيات التي نظمها الشيخ إسماعيل الساوري فوجدنا معظم أبياته مبنية على الكافية "اللامية" حيث اختتم كل الأيات لهذه القصيدة الطويلة بحرف اللام إلا أن الشيخ إسماعيل الساوري وضع شيئاً لم يضعه الأدباء القدماء وهي إختلاط القوافي في بعض أبياته كما نراه في بعض الأيات التالية.

* بيَتْ سُلُوكٌ أَطْبِعُ العَيْدَ فِي رِيَوْ	* يَوْمَ ثَلُوثٌ أَطْبِعُ العَيْدَ فِي رِيَوْ
* وَأَيْمَانُهَا فِي بَحْرِهَا طَعْمَهَا خَلَا	فَتَشْبِلُوا بِكُرَا وَسُعْوَا لَهَا مَهْرَا
* زَئِنَ الرِّجَالَ هَبَا وَيَعْرُ وَيَكْرُ	حَسِينٌ شَيَافِكَ مَا اسْتَطَعْتَ فَائِهَا
* قَالَهُ يَعْلَمُ مَا شُسِرُ وَمَا تَكْمُ	وَدَعَ التَّوَاضُعَ فِي التَّيَابِ تَخْشِيَا
* عَنْدَ الْأَلَهِ وَأَنَّ عَبْدُ مُجْمُ	فَرَقَاثُ تَؤْيِكَ لَا يَرِدُكَ رِفَعَهَ
* تَخْشِي الْأَلَهَ وَتَقْتِي مَا يَجْرُ	وَجَدِيدُ تَؤْيِكَ لَا يَصْرُكَ بَعْدَ أَنْ
لَكَ الْحَمْدُ يَا ذَا الْقَيْضِ وَالْفَصْلِ وَالْأَوْلَا	* وَيَا وَاهِبَ الْأَمَالِ يَا مَنْ تَفَصَّلَا

* وَصَلَ عَلَى الْمُحْتَارِ طَةً مُسْلِمًا
 (إساعيل، 4)

أضرر إلى تلك الأبيات تجد أن في بداية القصيدة وبنائها استخدم الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي القافية "اللامية" مثل ما يأتي من تسوية القافية في كلمة "تَكْمِلَا" وكلمة "خَلَا" في البيتين الأوليين. وكذلك كلمة "تَعَصَّلَا" وحتى كلمة "مَنْ تَلَّا" في البيتين الآخرين. ولكن وفي وسط تلك القصيدة خلل الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي في كل من نهاية أبياته بالقافية "الميمية" مثل ما نراه في كلمة "يَكْرُمُ" و "تَكْمُمُ" و "جُرْمُ" و "جَحْرُ". وهذا النوع من أشكال الأشعار العربية خارجة من طبيعتها حيث أنه لا يزال الأدباء العربيون القدماءمنذ خبر وضعهم إليها يحتفظون على قافية واحدة متساوية في كل من قصائدهم التي نظموها. وإذا بنوا قصائدهم على حرف معين في القافية فلا بد لهم أن يستمرون على إثبات هذا الحرف لكل بيت من تلك القصائد. وأما الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي حاول إلى أن يخرجوا من تلك القواعد الشعرية المتينة منذ القدم وأحضر نوعاً جديداً في شكل القوافي الشعرية الجديدة. وربما هذه المحاولة من إبتكار أشكال القوافي الشعرية توثر بكثير من أنواع بناء قوافي الأشعار العربية الحديثة حيث أن بعض الشعراء العربية الحديثة لم يحرصوا على الاهتمام بتسوية الأحرف في كل نهاية الأبيات إلى وضعوها (الباحث، 1998: 89-90).

وفي أبيات أخرى نجد شيئاً جديداً في وضع الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي لبعض قوافي أبياته حيث أنه لم يتم بتسوية حرف من الأحرف النهائية في قصيدة واحدة مثل ما وضعها الشعراء العربيون السابقون. ولكن الشيخ إساعيل اهتم على اختار الكلمات متساوية الأحرف النهائية بين الشطر الأول والشطر الثاني. وهذا ما نراه في الأبيات التالية:

- | | |
|---|--|
| * بِعَجْزِهِ عَنْ ذَرْكِهِ إِقْرَأْهُ | فَشَانٌ مَنْ تَقَدَّسَتْ أَسْرَارُهُ |
| * وَكُلِّيٌّ مَا يَخْطُرُ فِي التَّشَكُّرِ | سُبْحَانَهُ جَلَّ عَنِ التَّصْوُرِ |
| * سَوِيٌّ وَجُنُودُ أَصْلِيهِ دَعَائُ تَصِيلٍ | إِذْ لَيْسَ لِلْقَطْلِ وَجُنُودُ مُسْتَقِلٍّ |
| * مِنْ أَصْلِيهِ الَّتِي إِلَيْهِ يَرْجُعُ | وَإِنْ لَهُ فَمُسْتَعَازٌ مُؤْدَعٌ |
| * وَإِنَّمَا لَهُ ثُبُوتٌ فِي الْوَهْمِ | فَإِنَّهُ مَنْ حَيَثُ تَفْسِيهِ عَدَمٌ |
- (إساعيل، 30)

إذا نظرنا إلى تلك الأبيات نجد أنها نوعاً جديداً في وضع القوافي الشعرية حيث أن الشيخ إساعيل لم يتم بتسوية القوافي بين الأبيات بل اهتم بتسوية الأحرف النهائية في كل من الشطر الأول والشطر الثاني. وذلك ما نراه في تسوية الصوت والنغم في الكلمة "أَسْرَارُهُ" و "إِقْرَأْهُ" في البيت الأول. وكذلك نرى تسوية الصوت بين الكلمة "التَّشَكُّرُ" والكلمة "الْتَّشَكُّرُ" وهكذا إلى نهاية القصيدة حيث فضل الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي تساوياً بين العروض والضرب واهتم بتسوية النغم بين نهاية الشطر الأول والشطر الثاني من البيت ولم يتم بتسوية القوافي كما قعدتها الشعراء العربيون السابقون في وضع أبياتهم الشعرية.

والشيء الذي يجلب الانتباه لتلك الأبيات التي نظمها الشيخ إساعيل الميانكبوبي من حيث شكل قوافيها أنه قسم قصائده على النوعين الكبيرين. ومن الملاحظة الهامة من تلك القصائد أن الشيخ إساعيل نظم القصائد أكثر من ثلاثة مائة بيت. وكان مائتا بيت يبني على القوافي المعيارية مثل ما وضعته الشعراء القدماء حيث وضع القصيدة على القافية اللامية كما رأينا فيما سبق. أما الباقي من الأبيات وهو أكثر من مائة بيت لم يبن على القوافي المعيارية إلا أنه قد اهتم بتسوية النغم والقافية بين كل الأحرف النهائية للكلمات في الشطر الأول والشطر

الثاني من البيت. وهذا المظهر من المظاهر الشعرية قد وقع في قصيدة واحدة حيث أنه يدل على ابتكار الشيخ إساعيل على تجديد أشكال الأشعار العربية الحديثة.

وفي أبياته الأخرى عبر الشيخ إساعيل أفكاره بنوع آخر من القافية الشعرية كما وجدنا فيها أنه قد اهتم بتناسق قوي بين العروض والضرب في كل من الشطر وكما اهتم أيضاً بتناسق متينة لكل من الأبيات وهو التناسق بين البيت الأول والثالث وبين البيت الثاني والرابع مثل ما نراه في الأبيات التالية.

* قدَّسَ اللَّهُ سِرَّهُ بِأَنْوَارِ رَبِّ الْكَرْمِ
 * مُمْبَدِّلُ الرَّحْمَنِ شَيْخُنَا الْعَالِيُّ
 * بِلَادُهُ تَنْجُوغٌ عَلَيْهِ كَنْتَارِيُّ
 * وَبَعْدَهُ شَيْخُنَا الْكَاملُ الْحَلِيمُ
 * مُرْشِدُنَا مُحَمَّدٌ وَلِيُّ الْقَوِيمُ
 * وَبَعْدَهُ مُرْشِدُنَا لَبِيُّ سَانِيُّ
 * أَغْنَيْنِي بِهِ زَكْرِيَاً الْأَنْصَارِيُّ
 (إساعيل ، 4)

وهذا الشكل من أشكال القوافي الأشعار العربية لم نجدها في أي قصيدة من قصائد الشعراء العربين السابقين. وهذا النوع من الأشكال القافية لا نجدها إلا في شكل الأشعار الملبوية حيث اشتهر بـ "سعع". وكما نجد والسعع الملبوية أن الشعراء الأرخييل اهتموا بتسوية بين النغم في نهاية البيت الأول ونهاية البيت الثالث وكذا التسوية بين النغم للبيت الثاني والبيت الرابع. وفي السعع الملبوية أن البيتين الأوليين يسمى "ساميران (sampiran)" وأما البيتان الأخيرتان يسمى "إيسبي (isi)". ولكن هناك من العجب كل العجائب على سياق وضع القوافي الأبيات العربية حيث أنه صار من روائع هذه الأبيات التي وضعها الشيخ إساعيل الميانكوبوي بأنه قد اهتم أيضاً بتسوية النغم في كل شطر من الشطورة البيتية مثل تسوية بين الكلمة "السليم" والكلمة "الكرم" في البيت الأول وكذا التسوية في الصوت بين الكلمة "العلالي" والكلمة "كتناري" في البيت الثاني. وكما اهتم بتسوية النغم بين الكلمة "الحليم" والكلمة "القويم" في البيت الثالث وهكذا إلى نهاية الأبيات في تسوية بين الكلمة "ساني" والكلمة "الأنصاري". وبطبيعة الحال أن هذا الشكل من أشكال القوافي للأشعار العربية شيء جديد حيث حاول الشيخ إساعيل الميانكوبوي إدخال أنواع الأشعار الملبوية في وضع القوافي للأشعار العربية الحديثة.

5.2. القوافي الشعرية وابتداعها في فضم الوصية للشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول

ومن حيث القوافي للأبيات الشعرية التي وضعها الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول الميانكوبوي نجد أنواع من الإبداعات وهو تعديل النغم وتسوية الأحرف القافية بين العروض والضرب لكل من الأبيات المضوطة. وهذا المظهر الذي نراه بوضوح وصراحة في جميع نظماته الشعرية التي لا يقل عدده من ألف بيت نظم. وهذا مثل ما نراه في البيتين الأوليين للقصيدة التي وضعها الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول الميانكوبوي التاليين.

سببِ نظمِ أَكُوكارْغَكْنَ ملِهِيَاتِ لَاكُو سَكَلَا تولان
 علمَ بِعِ سَديكَت دَفَدَكَنَ اسْلي بُولِيهِ منجاري مَاكِنَ
 (محمد سعيد، 1)

ونرى في هذه الأبيات نوع جديد في تركيب القوافي حيث حاول الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول إلى تسوية الصوت والنغم بين العروض والضرب باتخاذ حرف النون في كل نهاية الصوت من كل شطر. وفي هاتين البيتين ظهر نبولة الكاتب في تكوين القافية حيث جعل النون في نهاية كل الصوت من العروض والضرب وهو شكل من النغم الشعري التي لم يضعه الشعراء العرب القدماء وحتى الأدباء الملبوية في الأرخييل. وفضلاً على ذلك أن هناك

نرى محاولة المؤلف على تسوية النغم في القافية مع أنه لم يجعل تساوية الأحرف النهائية بين العروض والضرب فحسب بل محاولته إلى جعلها متساوية الأحرف في كل من أربعة أبيات، كما نراه في الآيات التالية.

منجاد يكن اوسها برفاهه فايه	فون قدرية إعتقدت سله
كوت ديريث راسا فائده	تيدق مغفل قدرة الله
كند كيت توهن مثاره	اعتقاد قدرية ساعت ترساله
افا كرج توهن فون ليغه	منجاري أكن كهدفن بلنجا نفقه

(محمد سعيد، 1)

وبعد أن يسوى الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول بين القوافي في كل أربعة من الآيات وكذا اهتم التسوية النغم بين العروض والضرب لكل من تلك الآيات فعاد الشيخ سعيد بنجول إلى تسوية القافية بين كل البيتين مع أنها ما زالت في قصيدة واحدة كما نجدها في البيتين التاليين.

بوج او لهمو كان دان كيري	اعتقاد قدرية جاغن فردولي
لهمته جالن سوده بركلالي	جاغنه ساست كدام دوري

(محمد سعيد، 2)

وبعد تسويته بين القافية في العروض والضرب فيهن نهاية البيت الأول والثاني عاد الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول إلى أن يسوى القافية بين كل أربعة من الآيات باختيار الأحرف المتساوية لكل منها سواء كان بين كل من العروض والضرب وكل من نهاية البيت كما نراه فيما يلي.

منجاد يكن اوسها برفاهه فايه	فون قدرية إعتقدت سله
كوت ديريث راسا فائده	تيدق مغفل قدرة الله
كند كيت توهن مثاره	اعتقاد قدرية ساعت ترساله
افا كرج توهن فون ليغه	منجاري أكن كهدفن بلنجا نفقه

(محمد سعيد، 2)

وهكذا ما وضعها الشيخ سعيد بنجول الميناكمابوي في جميع أبياته في اختيار الأحرف لقافية أشعاره حيث حاول على تسوية النغم والقافية بين الشطر الأول والشطر الثاني وزيادة على أنه يسوى بين القافية لكل البيتين ثم يأتي من بعده إلى تسوية القافية لكل من أربعة الآيات. وهكذا ما أحضر الشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول إلى نهاية الآيات لقصيده حيث لا يوافق على تنسيق أبياته على نظام القوافي الشعر العربي بل لا يوافقه نظام الآيات للأشعار الملاوية. وهذه الطريقة الجديدة لوضع الآيات الشعرية التي عرضها الشيخ سعد بنجول كانت تؤثر بكثير عند الأدباء الشعراء المعاصرين لا سيما في الأرخبيل عمومياً حيث نجد ميل بعض الشعراء المعاصرين إلى إهمال أنواع القافية المعاصرة كما هو جرى عند الشعراء القدماء في وضع أبياتهم وقصائدهم في قديم الزمان.

5. القوافي الشعرية وأبتداعها في مخطوطة "نظم سلسلة" للشيخ سعد المكاوي

كما قدم الكاتب فيما سبق أن الآيات الشعرية للشيخ سعد المكاوي في هذه المخطوطة مكونة من الأوزان الرائعة وكذا أنها منظمة بأشكالها القافية السحرية مثل ما نراها في بعض الآيات التالية.

وكتابنا هذا المؤفت إلى لك كما طلبت لعنة الأشعار

ف حامل فتسلموا بخبور وهي إثننا عشر ريبة ونص
تدعووه في الليل والنهار خودوا لنا من فضلکم بدعائکم

جودوا لنا من فضلكم بساحكم
من ذي القصور الحالدي المنكوى
(المنكاوي, 1)
ودعائكم في الليل والنهار
سعد النوى للفضل ذو افتقار

وفي هذه الأبيات الشعرية للشيخ سعد المنكاوي نجد نوعاً من التقاليد لأشكال القوافي للأشعار العربية القديمة حيث حاول في اتخاذ النغم الأخير في نفس الصوت والأحرف. وبنيت هذه القصيدة على القافية "الرائية" مثل ما نراها في نهاية كل الأبيات في الكلمة "الأشعار" للبيت الأول والكلمة "بحبور" للبيت الثاني والكلمة "والنهار" للبيت الثالث وهكذا إلى نهاية القصيدة حيث اهتم الشيخ سعد المنكاوي بتناسق قوي في القافية ولا يهم بتسموية النغم والصوت للشطر الأول والشطر الثاني من البيت الواحد. وكان الشيخ سعد المنكاوي يبتعد في تكوين قوافي أبياته عند اختيار الكلمات المتساوية الأحرف الأخيرة مثل ما وضع الشيخ إسماعيل الميناكيابوي والشيخ محمد سعيد بنجول في نظم بعض أبياته.

الخاتمة

وفي هذه المظاهر من المظاهير الأبياتية في نظم الأشعار للعلماء الميناكيابيين يتضح لنا نبوة العلماء الميناكيابيين وبراعتهم في وضع الأبيات الشعرية. ومنهم من يقلد طرائق الشعراء القدماء في تكوين الأوزان الشعرية وقوافيها حيث أنه قد مر عند الأدباء القدماء في قرون بعيدة. وهناك من العلماء الميناكيابيين حاولوا إلى تقديم ألوان جديدة من الأشعار من كيفية وضع أشكال أوزانها وقوافيها ولم يقللوا أساليب تكوين الأوزان الشعرية وقوافيها للشعراء العربين القدماء. وفي هذا الصدد حاول بعض العلماء الميناكيابيين على إحضار تأثير الأشعار الملاوية المعروفة بـ"السجع" في نظم النغم لكل بيت من أبياته الشعرية. وهذا يبدو لنا براعة العلماء الميناكيابيين ووسيعة ثقافتهم في تكوينات وابتداعات للأشعار العربية حيث أثرت هذه الطريقة الجديدة للشعراء العربين المعاصرین.

المراجع

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DIMENSI KEARIFAN LOKAL MASYARAKAT LAMPUNG SEBAGAI MEDIA RESOLUSI KONFLIK

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Abstrak : *Di tengah munculnya konflik dan dibalik fenomena kompleksitas serta kekacauan yang terjadi pada masyarakat saat ini, apalagi daerah tersebut merupakan suatu yang kompleks seperti di Lampung. Diperlukan kontribusi berbagai macam cara untuk dijadikan acuan bagi individu dan kelompok masyarakat dalam berinteraksi diantara mereka guna mewujudkan tatanan yang berkualitas baik. Salah satu cara yang potensial untuk persoalan tersebut adalah kearifan lokal. Kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung yang diketengahkan disini yaitu Piil Pesenggiri dan Muakhi yang keduanya secara ideal memiliki nilai dan spirit universal dan dapat dijadikan sebagai acuan bagi setiap orang yang hidup di bumi Lampung. Kearifan lokal dimaksud seharusnya teraktualisasi bukan hanya bagi masyarakat yang beretnis Lampung, akan tetapi juga bagi masyarakat pendatang (datang dari daerah lain/suku lain) agar supaya dapat saling menghargai, menghormati dan memahami adanya perbedaan tradisi. Hal ini diperlukan dalam rangka mengantisipasi kesalahpahaman yang tidak jarang berujung pada konflik hingga pada akhirnya dapat merugikan masyarakat itu sendiri.*

Kata Kunci: *Kearifan Lokal, Masyarakat Lampung, Resolusi Konflik*

Pendahuluan

Indonesia yang terkenal akan keanekaragamannya (agama, suku, bahasa, budaya, ras, golongan) dan lain-lain merupakan suatu yang patut disyukuri. Hal ini disebabkan bahwa Indonesia disamping memiliki kekayaan alam; hutan, lautan, serta sumberdaya alam lainnya, ternyata juga memiliki kekayaan lain (baca: budaya, tradisi adat istiadat dan lain-lain). Selain itu, kekayaan kategori kedua ini menunjukkan pula bahwa *sunnatullah* betul-betul nyata dan terasa di Tanah Air. Namun demikian, berbagai macam kekayaan yang beranekaragam tersebut jika tidak dikelola dengan baik dan secara *sinergi*, maka dapat menimbulkan konflik horizontal sehingga pada akhirnya dapat memunculkan problem tersendiri bagi keberlangsungan hidup (*survive*) manusianya. Dalam konteks ini, konflik yang terjadi di berbagai daerah yang ada di Indonesia; baik yang bernuansa ras, etnis maupun agama – setidaknya ditengarai – terjadi akibat

egoisme, eksklusifisme, individualisme serta klaim kebenaran (*truth claim*) yang mewabah dalam pemikiran dan aksi di sebagian kalangan masyarakat. Akibat hal tersebut, individu maupun kelompok manusia seringkali bertindak diluar dan sulit diterima dalam nalar dan batas-batas kemanusiaan (*humanity*).

Pada dimensi lain, secara ideal seharusnya jika keanekaragaman tersebut dapat bersinergi (*simbios mutualism*), maka dapat menjadi sebagai sumber kekuatan dan energi positif, karena merupakan kekuatan dan modal bagi bangsa Indonesia dalam melaksanakan akselerasi pembangunan baik fisik maupun mental secara progresif, tanpa harus di-interupsi oleh konflik yang berlatarbelakang dan bermuansa agama, budaya, suku dan lain-lain.

Menurut Zohar dan Marshall yang dikutip oleh Samsul Arifin, bahwa dalam kehidupan ini, sesungguhnya manusia bukan hanya membutuhkan modal ekonomi, tetapi modal sosial. Modal sosial yaitu kekayaan yang membuat komunitas dan organisasi berfungsi secara efektif demi kepentingan bersama. Sedangkan modal spiritual merupakan dimensi hakiki yang memberikan sentuhan maknawi dalam kehidupan manusia agar lebih bermakna secara substansi. Meskipun modal sosial dan spiritual tidak berbentuk barang dalam arti ekonomi, tetapi tidak boleh dipandang tidak memiliki manfaat ekonomi. (Samsul Arifin: 2009, 77).

Terkait dengan uraian modal sosial, Fukuyama menegaskan bahwa modal sosial adalah seperangkat nilai atau norma informal yang dimiliki bersama oleh anggota suatu kelompok yang memungkinkan kerjasama di antara mereka. (Samsul Arifin, 2009, 78). Selanjutnya modal sosial itu sendiri memiliki tiga unsur pokok yakni; kepercayaan (*trust*), jaringan dan norma. Kepercayaan merupakan sikap saling mempercayai di masyarakat yang memungkinkan masyarakat tersebut saling bersatu dengan yang lain. Dengan adanya kepercayaan, masyarakat akan mudah merancang suatu jaringan sosial atau prinsip kesukarelaan (*voluntary*), kesamaan (*equality*), kebebasan (*freedom*) dan keadaban (*civility*). Kemudian unsur berikutnya adalah norma, yakni sekumpulan aturan yang harus dipatuhi oleh masyarakat yang terlibat dalam jaringan sosial. (Samsul Arifin, 2009, 78). Oleh karena itu, pengelolaan secara massif dan dilakukan secara bersinergi terhadap modal sosial dalam pengertian tersebut sangatlah menjadi penting.

Pada sekelompok masyarakat yang memiliki secara bersama norma informal, dimana norma tersebut dijadikan sebagai acuan atau pandangan untuk menjalin kerjasama dan berinteraksi meskipun memiliki berbagai macam perbedaan latarbelakang, - jika merujuk pada penjelasan tersebut diatas – maka itulah yang disebut dengan kearifan lokal (*local wisdom*) yang sesungguhnya dapat menjadi modal sosial dan berguna bagi keberlangsungan kehidupan manusia.

Masyarakat Lampung juga memiliki kearifan lokal yang jika dipahami, dikembangkan serta diaktualisasikan, maka dapat dijadikan sebagai alternatif solusi dalam mengantisipasi terjadinya konflik. Kearifan lokal yang dimaksud yaitu budaya *Piil Pesenggiri* dan budaya *Muakhi* yang semuanya itu seharusnya berjalan secara bersamaan, artinya pemahaman secara utuh dan konkret tentang kedua kearifan lokal tersebut dimiliki secara utuh oleh masyarakat etnis

Lampung juga masyarakat pendatang menjadi suatu yang mutlak. Hal ini menjadi penting, karena Lampung merupakan provinsi yang plural dimana dengan letaknya sebagai “Serambi Sumatera” sehingga sangat memungkinkan bagi berbagai etnis untuk hidup di Provinsi Lampung. Hal tersebut karena memang faktanya di Lampung banyak sekali etnis dan agama seperti Jawa, Sunda, Bali, Padang, Palembang, Medan dan lain sebagainya. Termasuk juga agama-agama yang disahkan Pemerintah, semuanya ada dan mengalami pertumbuhan dan interaksi yang cukup dinamis dan signifikan.

Dengan keaneragamannya pula – jika menggunakan logika kalangan agamawan disebut sebagai *Sunnatullah* – maka perkembangan pembangunan di Lampung seharusnya lebih dinamis, sebab banyak komunitas yang terlibat dalam proses pembangunan tersebut. Pernyataan tersebut tentu dapat dipahami sebagai suatu logika bersama bahwa; suatu problem atau permasalahan akan lebih mudah untuk di carikan solusinya, manakala manusia yang memberikan kontribusi terhadap pemecahan problem tersebut pun banyak, ketimbang yang hanya diselesaikan oleh segelintir orang.

Sekilas Kearifan Lokal Masyarakat Lampung

Sebelum mendiskusikan tentang kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung, terlebih dahulu perlu diketengahkan tentang pengertian kearifan lokal itu sendiri. Secara etimologis, kearifan (*wisdom*) berarti kemampuan seseorang dalam menggunakan akal pikirannya untuk menyikapi sesuatu kejadian, obyek atau situasi. Sedangkan lokal, menunjukkan ruang interaksi dimana peristiwa atau situasi itu terjadi. Dengan demikian, kearifan lokal secara substansial merupakan nilai dan norma yang berlaku dalam suatu masyarakat yang diyakini kebenarannya dan menjadi acuan dalam bertindak dan berperilaku sehari-hari. Dengan kata lain, kearifan lokal adalah kemampuan menyikapi dan memberdayakan potensi nilai-nilai luhur budaya setempat secara arif dan bijak untuk mencapai tujuan dan kemaslahatan manusia itu sendiri.

Selain itu, kearifan lokal dapat didefinisikan sebagai suatu kekayaan budaya lokal yang mengandung kebijakan hidup; pandangan hidup (*way of life*) yang mengakomodasi kebijakan (*wisdom*) dan kearifan hidup. Di Indonesia—yang kita kenal sebagai Nusantara—kearifan lokal itu tidak hanya berlaku secara lokal pada budaya atau etnik tertentu, tetapi dapat dikatakan bersifat lintas budaya atau lintas etnik sehingga membentuk nilai budaya yang bersifat nasional. Sebagai contoh, hampir di setiap budaya lokal di Nusantara dikenal kearifan lokal yang mengajarkan gotong royong, toleransi, etos kerja, dan seterusnya. Pada umumnya etika dan nilai moral yang terkandung dalam kearifan lokal diajarkan turun-temurun, diwariskan dari generasi ke generasi melalui sastra lisan (antara lain dalam bentuk pepatah dan peribahasa, *folklore*), dan manuskrip. (Suyono Suyatno, <http://badanbahasa.kemdikbud.go.id/lamanbahasa /artikel/1336>)

Kearifan lokal memiliki nilai kebaikan bagi kehidupan masyarakat, sehingga prinsip ini mentradisi dan melekat kuat pada kehidupan masyarakat setempat. Meskipun terdapat perbedaan karakter dan intensitas hubungan

sosial budayanya, tetapi dalam jangka yang lama, mereka terikat dalam persamaan visi dan persepsi dalam menciptakan kehidupan yang bermartabat dan sejahtera bersama. Dalam bingkai kearifan lokal ini, antar individu, antar kelompok masyarakat saling melengkapi, bersatu dan berinteraksi dengan memelihara nilai dan norma sosial yang berlaku. Perlu ditambahkan, meskipun kearifan lokal bernilai lokal sesuai dengan sebutannya, akan tetapi nilai yang terkandung di dalamnya dapat dianggap bersifat universal, artinya bisa dijadikan landasan berpikir, bersikap dan bertindak bagi suatu komunitas lain yang berbeda tempat maupun asal, yang hidup bersama dalam suatu daerah.

Masyarakat Lampung memiliki kearifan lokal yang disebut dengan *Piil Pesenggiri*, dimana di dalamnya terkait soal kehormatan diri yang muncul karena kemampuan mengolah kedewasaan berpikir dan berperilaku. Dalam konteks ini, kemampuan hidup berdampingan dengan berbagai kalangan, termasuk pendatang, merupakan salah satu prinsip dari inti ajaran *Piil Pesenggiri*.

Piil Pesenggiri berasal dari dua kata yaitu kata *Piil* dan *Pesenggiri*. Menurut Ahmad Zarkasi kata *Piil* berasal dari kata *Fi'il* dalam bahasa Arab yang berarti “perbuatan, perangai, perilaku. Sedangkan *Pesenggiri* berasal dari kata *pusenggekh* yang berarti simpang siur atau pertemuan disatu titik pada saat simpang siur, atau dengan kata lain “pertemuan sejajar pada garis lulus”. Maka *Piil Pesenggiri* dapat diartikan perilaku orang Lampung yang selalu ingin sejajar dengan orang lain dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. (Ahmad Zarkasi, 2014, 71). Namun kata sejajar dalam kalimat diatas bukanlah bermakna negatif, sebaliknya memiliki konotasi positif yakni prinsip kesetaraan atau kesejajaran.

Pada sisi lain, Ratnawati memberikan arti *Piil Pesenggiri* sebagai “prinsip hidup orang Lampung yang ingin sejajar, berdampingan dengan orang lain”. (Ratnawati, 1992, 2). Dalam konteks ini, pada hakikatnya orang Lampung tidak ingin berada diatas, sementara yang lain berada di bawah, atau sebaliknya tidak ingin dibawah sementara yang lain ditas. Lagi-lagi pengertian ini pun memiliki konsep atau prinsip kesejajaran (*equality*).

Piil Pesenggiri merupakan suatu keutuhan dari empat unsurnya yaitu; *Juluk adek/adok*, *nemu nyimah*, *nengah nyappukh*, dan *sakai sambayan*. Keempat unsur tersebut merupakan modal dasar sebagai penyangga seseorang untuk menegakkan nilai-nilai luhur dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat. Seseorang dapat dikatakan *Bupiil Bupesenggiri* apabila telah melaksanakan nilai-nilai pada keempat unsur diatas.

Unsur-unsur *Piil Pesenggiri* selalu berpasangan, *Juluk* berpasangan dengan *Adek*, *Nemu* dengan *Nyimah*, *Nengah* dengan *Nyappukh*, *Sakai* dengan *Sambai*. Penggabungan itu bukan tanpa sebab dan makna. *Juluk Adek* (terprogram, keberhasilan), *Nemu Nyimah* (prinsip ramah, terbuka dan saling menghargai), *Nengah Nyappukh* (prinsip suka bergaul, terjun dalam masyarakat, kebersamaan, kesetaraan), dan *Sakai Sambayan* (prinsip kerjasama, kebersamaan).

Unsur-unsur *Piil Pesenggiri* itu tentu bukan sekedar prinsip yang kosong dan hampa dari nilai-nilai (hakikat), melainkan mempunyai nilai-nilai nasionalisme budaya yang luhur yang perlu dipahami dan diamalkan dalam kehidupan bermasyarakat dan bernegara. Sejatinya *Piil Pesenggiri*, tidak

diungkapkan dan diartikan sebagai pemujaan diri sendiri dengan mengorbankan orang lain atau dengan mengagungkan seseorang yang jauh lebih unggul dari orang lain, atau juga menyengsarakan orang lain untuk membahagiakan seseorang. Seorang yang memiliki harga diri akan lebih bersemangat (etos kerja), lebih mandiri, lebih mampu dan berdaya, sanggup menerima tantangan, lebih percaya diri, tidak menyerah dan putus asa, mudah memikul tanggung jawab, mampu menghadapi kehidupan dengan lebih baik, dan merasa sejajar dengan orang lain (tidak rendah diri).

Selain budaya *Piil Pesenggiri*, ada suatu kearifan lokal yang bisa dikembangkan dalam rangka menjawab pluralitas kehidupan di Lampung yakni budaya *Muakhi*. Secara etimologi muakhi berarti persaudaraan dalam hubungan bertetangga. Kata ini berasal dari kata Puakhi yang artinya saudara sekandung, saudara sepupu dari garis pihak bapak maupun ibu. Dalam bahasa Lampung, huruf “kh” dalam muakhi dibaca sebagai perpaduan antara ghin dan ra’ atau perpaduan antara kha’ dengan ra’. Selain itu, kata Muakhi berasal dari kata akhun yang berarti saudara, dan ukhwah artinya ikatan persaudaraan atas dasar kesamaan. Kedua kata itu berasal dari bahasa Arab. Setiap kelompok masyarakat yang diikat dengan kesamaan iman merupakan saudara, dalam arti satu umat, prinsip kesamaan manusia merupakan saudara sesama manusia. (A. Fauzie Nurdin, 2009, 91).

Merujuk pada pengertian tersebut, maka menjadi terang benderang bahwa budaya *muakhi* merupakan salah satu budaya lokal yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat Lampung, memiliki “pesan” untuk bersaudara meskipun memiliki perbedaan latar belakang (etnis, budaya, ras, juga agama dan lain-lain). Dengan “bersaudara”, maka seseorang/kelompok akan dengan senang hati dan suka rela untuk saling membantu dan tolong menolong baik terhadap kelompoknya sendiri maupun terhadap kelompok masyarakat lain secara berkualtias.

Spirit universal yang terkandung dalam kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung diatas seharusnya teraktualisasi bukan hanya bagi masyarakat yang beretnis Lampung, akan tetapi juga bagi masyarakat pendatang (datang dari daerah lain/suku lain) agar supaya dapat saling menghargai, menghormati dan memahami adanya perbedaan tradisi. Dengan adanya kesaling pemahaman dimaksud, maka tidak muncul kesalah pemahaman. Hal ini diperlukan dalam rangka mengantisipasi kesalahpahaman yang tidak jarang berujung pada konflik hingga pada akhirnya dapat merugikan masyarakat itu sendiri, serta Pembangunan Daerah menjadi terhambat.

Kearifan Lokal Sebagai Media Resolusi Konflik

Dalam sebuah acara *opening ceremony Mahathir Global Peace School (MGPS) III: Interstate Relation and Global Justice for Peace and Conflict Resolution* yang diselenggarakan di Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta (UMY) tahun 2014 lalu, Dino Pati Jalal (Mantan Wakil Menteri Luar Negeri) sebagai *keynote speech* mengatakan dengan tegas bahwa Indonesia harus bisa menggunakan kearifan lokal (*local wisdom*) sebagai salah satu instrumen penyelesaian konflik yang kerap terjadi di negeri ini.

Statemen tersebut setidaknya menjadi renungan bersama bahwa ada kealfaan negara selama ini dalam melakukan penyelesaian konflik, yang hanya menggunakan pendekatan keamanan atau militer. Sebab Indonesia adalah bangsa yang plural dan akibat dari tuntutan hidup, maka terjadinya percampuran budaya antar suku dimana dalam praktik percampuran tersebut tidak sedikit yang mengabaikan nilai-nilai atau norma lokal yang telah ada dan berkembang pada suatu masyarakat. Akibatnya terjadi persinggungan yang jika tidak atau terlambat mengantisipasinya dapat menimbulkan konflik horizontal yang semakin parah.

Jika selama ini pendekatan yang digunakan adalah teori konflik secara umum, atau penyelesaian konflik yang bersifat akademis dan hasil pengalaman beberapa negara lain dalam menyelesaikan konflik sebagai bahan referensi pada berbagai diskusi, seminar dan lain-lain. Akan tetapi dalam penerapannya tidaklah mudah karena banyak faktor lain yang sulit diprediksi terutama yang menyangkut nilai-nilai, budaya, kondisi geografis dan konteks lokal yang telah berkembang pada suatu masyarakat.

Secara teoritis M. Atho Mudzhar mengekplorasi bahwa suatu konflik biasanya terjadi karena bertemu empat elemen utama dalam waktu yang bersamaan. Keempat elemen itu ialah *facilitating contexts* (kontek pendukung), *core (root) of conflict* (akar konflik), *fuse factors* (faktor sumbu), dan *triggering factors* (faktor pemicu). (M. Atho Mudzhar, 2003, 5).

Dalam suatu konflik sosial bernuansa agama, konteks pendukung (*facilitating contexts*) dapat berupa pola pekerjaan atau pemukiman yang terpisah berdasarkan garis keagamaan antara berbagai kelompok yang akan terlibat konflik, atau kompetisi perkembangan demografi keagamaan, atau urbanisasi yang berdampak menggusur penduduk lokal (asli) tertentu dan lain-lain.

Keadaan ini mengingatkan kita kepada masyarakat Maluku, Ambon khususnya. Keberadaan konteks pendukung ini biasanya tidak serta merta mengakibatkan terjadinya konflik, tetapi berfungsi sebagai tempat bersemunya potensi-potensi konflik untuk menunggu saat yang tepat.

Core of conflict (akar konflik), biasanya adalah suatu tingkat *social deprivation* (penderitaan sosial) atau marginalisasi sosial yang tidak dapat ditolerir lagi dalam perebutan sumber-sumber daya (*resources*) maupun kekuasaan (*power*). Pembuatan batas akhir toleransi itu biasanya dilakukan karena intensitas deprivasi itu sendiri yang tidak tertahankan lagi atau lamanya waktu deprivasi itu berlangsung, seperti penguasaan sebagian terbesar lahan dan hasil pertanian oleh suatu kelompok masyarakat tertentu, atau penguasa jabatan-jabatan publik tertentu disuatu daerah oleh suatu kelompok tertentu dalam waktu yang berkepanjangan. Apabila kelompok-kelompok yang mendominasi dan terdeprivasi itu kebetulan berasal dari kelompok agama yang berbeda maka konflik yang terjadi dapat bergerak menjadi bernuansa agama.

Fuse factor (faktor sumbu), biasanya juga sudah ada disana, tetapi tidak dengan sendirinya menyala menjadi konflik jika itu tidak tersulut atau disulut. Sumbu konflik bisa berupa sentimen suku, rasa, keagamaan dan lain-lain.

Triggering factors (faktor pemicu) adalah peristiwa atau momentum dimana semua elemen diatas diakumulasikan untuk melahirkan konflik sosial. Momentum itu bisa terjadi hanya berbentuk pertengkaran mulut atau perkelahian kecil antara dua individu mengenai suatu hal yang amat remeh atau jauh dari akar konflik, tetapi berfungsi menjadi pemberar bagi dimulainya suatu konflik yang berskala lebih besar. (M. Atho Mudzhar, 2003, 5-6).

Para ahli sosiologi mengatakan bahwa dampak suatu konflik bergantung pada tataran apa akar konflik itu berada dan terjadi. Jika akar konflik berada pada tataran instrumental, biasanya konflik itu akibatnya tidak terlalu luas dan dapat segera berhenti. Tetapi jika akar konflik itu berada pada tararan ideologi, biasanya akibatnya lebih besar bahkan mengerikan dan dapat berlangsung dalam waktu yang lama. Dalam konflik (agama), pelaksanaannya bisa sangat destruktif dan tidak mengenal belas kasihan, karena pelakunya merasa melakukan hal itu bukan untuk kepentingan diri mereka sendiri, melainkan untuk sesuatu tujuan abstrak yang dipandang lebih tinggi dan mulai. (Lih. Lester Kurtz, 1995, 212).

Dengan menggunakan teori diatas, kita dapat memetakan konflik-konflik yang terjadi selama ini terutama di Lampung; seperti yang di Lampung Tengah, Lampung Selatan (Kalianda) dan daerah lainnya. Tetapi itu semua berguna dalam rangka mencari akar atau bentuk-bentuk suatu konflik dimana konflik itu sendiri telah terjadi yang menyisakan penderitaan baik secara fisik maupun psikis.

Sesungguhnya hal tersebut (persoalan pemetaan konflik) amatlah berguna, tetapi tentu saja yang lebih penting dan mendesak adalah bagaimana supaya konflik yang terjadi di masyarakat bisa dicarikan jalan keluar (solusi), agar konflik yang sedang terjadi bisa diselesaikan sedini mungkin sehingga tidak merembet sehingga menjadi besar, atau juga bisa dijadikan sebagai sarana antisipasi jika dirasa sudah terdapat tanda-tanda akan terjadinya konflik. Salah satu cara dalam melakukan resolusi konflik ditengah masyarakat adalah dengan menggunakan pendekatan kearifan lokal.

Sebenarnya di berbagai daerah Indonesia telah terbukti bahwa eksistensi kearifan lokal turut ambil bagian dalam mengantisipasi dan memberikan solusi terhadap konflik. Sebut saja misalnya tradisi Rumah Betang di Kalimantan Tengah, Subak di Bali, dan Pela di Ambon atau juga di daerah-daerah lain. Ketiga bentuk tradisi kearifan lokal dimaksud dalam prakteknya turut mewarnai suasana kehidupan yang rukun serta dapat mengantisipasi konflik, karena tradisi tersebut meskipun awalnya hanya berlaku bagi suatu komunitas yang homogen, akan tetapi dalam perkembangannya dapat pula menerima kelompok lain diluar komunitasnya. Hal ini sebagaimana yang diuraikan oleh A. Sutarmadi dalam penelitiannya bahwa rumah betang pada awalnya merupakan tradisi dayak yang berkepercayaan khas. Akan tetapi dengan berkembangnya zaman, sehingga interaksi dengan komunitas dan etnis lain menjadi sulit untuk dihindari, hingga akhirnya datang agama lain seperti Islam, Hindu, Budha, Kristen dan Katolik. Kedatangan agama dimaksud dalam lingkungan Betang diterima dengan penuh keterbukaan. (A. Sutarmadi, 1997, 9).

Begitu juga dengan tradisi Subak di Bali. Subak merupakan sistem pengairan yang turut berkontribusi dalam mengantisipasi masalah konflik, karena anggota dari Subak itu sendiri berasal dari berbagai komunitas dan agama. Selain itu, Subak di Bali terstruktur sedemikian rupa sehingga terdapat kepengurusan yang jelas, serta memiliki sistem piket secara bergantian. Dengan pola ini dapat menyatukan ikatan kekerabatan atau memiliki kedekatan hati, serta saling menghargai juga dapat saling membantu meskipun berbeda agama sehingga dapat mengantisipasi munculnya konflik. (Ida Bagus Dharmika, 1997, 49).

Sedangkan Pela merupakan tradisi kearifan lokal yang berasal dari Ambon. Menurut Frank L. Cooley bahwa Pela adalah ikatan persahabatan atau persaudaraan yang dilembagakan antara seluruh penduduk pribumi dari dua desa atau lebih. Ikatan tersebut telah ditetapkan oleh para leluhur dalam keadaan yang khusus dan menyertakan hak-hak serta kewajiban-kewajiban tertentu bagi pihak-pihak yang ada di dalamnya. (Frank L. Coley, 1987, 183).

Dalam salah satu kesimpulan dari penelitian yang dilakukan oleh Hamadi B. Husain ditemukan bahwa Pela merupakan pola/mekanisme interaksi sosial yang tumbuh dan berkembang secara tradisional, yang didalamnya mengandung nilai-nilai persaudaraan, kerjasama dan tolong menolong dengan tidak terikat perbedaan suku, bahasa maupun agama, masih tetap hidup dalam lingkungan kehidupan sosial kultural masyarakat Maluku secara turun temurun. (Hamadi B. Husain, 1997, 89).

Di Lampung terdapat tradisi kearifan lokal – sebagaimana yang telah dieksplorasi sebelumnya – yang sangat memungkinkan untuk dijadikan sebagai instrumen resolusi konflik. Akan tetapi dalam praktiknya masih banyak orang (baik yang beretnis Lampung apalagi yang bukan beretnis Lampung) belum memiliki pemahaman yang utuh dan mendalam terhadap pengertian dari kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung yakni *Piil Pesenggiri* dan *Muakhi*. Menurut M. Aqil Irham hal tersebut dapat dilihat baik dari faktor internal maupun eksternal. Problem dari dalam (kekeliruan orang yang beretnis Lampung) dalam memaknai *Piil Pesenggiri*, disebabkan; *Pertama*, ada kesenjangan antara generasi tua (khususnya sesepuh adat, punyimbang dan keluarga) dengan generasi muda, sehingga sosialisasi makna yang utuh dari konsep *Piil Pesenggiri* tersumbat. *Kedua*, tidak ada usaha yang mengarah pada aktualisasi dan re-interpretasi makna *Piil Pesenggiri* tersebut dalam konteks perubahan sosial sekarang yang mengarah pada pengembangan masyarakat. *Ketiga*, nilai-nilai budaya yang dimiliki oleh masyarakat etnis Lampung mengalami krisis dan menunjuk pada pudarnya warisan masa lalu yang berharga. (Muhammad Aqil Irham, 1997, 45-46). Sedangkan problem dari luar (masyarakat etnis non Lampung) adalah masih masih persepsi tentang falasah hidup (kearifan lokal) termasuk budaya muakhi yang dianggap hanya sekedar mengedepankan aspek prestise dan gengsi. Padahal kearifan lokal dimaksud jika dipahami dengan seutuhnya dapat digunakan sebagai media kohesi sosial baik intern masyarakat etnis Lampung maupun masyarakat etnis non Lampung. Penggunaan term etnis Lampung dan non etnis Lampung tidak dimaksudkan untuk menciptakan disparitas kedua

etnis dimaksud, tetapi lebih pada unsur fakta yang ada serta untuk memudahkan pengkategorian dalam pembahasan topik ini.

Kondisi heterogenitas yang terjadi di Lampung adalah karena program transmigrasi yang digalakkan oleh pemerintah Orde Baru bahkan lebih jauh sebelum itu. Proses asimilasi di Lampung sebenarnya berjalan baik karena orang Lampung sendiri terbuka atas kehadiran pendatang melalui sifat budayanya yakni *Nemui Nyimah* (keramah tamahan). (Sulistyawati Irianto, 2004, 144). Hal inilah yang kemudian membuat identitas ke-Lampung-an sendiri menjadi bias karena sekat-sekat etnisitas sudah berbaur dengan etnis lain (pendatang).

Dengan semakin heterogenitasnya etnis maupun agama yang berada di Lampung tidak membuat kawasan tersebut secara utuh sendiri lepas dari konflik. Konflik (etnis) yang terjadi di Lampung agak berbeda sedikit dengan daerah lainnya yang mayoritas dihasilkan karena adanya diskriminasi maupun etnifikasi terhadap etnis maupun agama tertentu. Konflik yang terjadi di Lampung lebih banyak terjadi karena penonjolan identitas maupun pengekksklusifikasi terhadap etnis maupun agama tertentu. Sebut saja misalnya konflik yang terjadi pada November 2012 di Lampung Selatan antara etnis Lampung yang beragama Islam dengan etnis Bali yang beragama Hindu dikarenakan masalah komunikasi dan eksklusivitas Hindu Bali yang tidak mau membaur dengan pihak lainnya sehingga memunculkan sikap arogansi terhadap etnis Lampung.

Dalam konteks ini perlunya pemahaman secara integral dari kedua belah pihak. Nilai-nilai budaya lokal Lampung dalam hal ini harus menjadi pemahaman logika bersama yang perlu dikembangkan dan dijunjung tinggi, sebab jika “kaum pendatang” dapat memahami falsafah hidup masyarakat Lampung, maka tentu akan muncul sikap saling menghargai dan menghormati serta merasa memiliki dan terlibat dalam setiap kegiatan yang ada meskipun mereka bukan penduduk asli Lampung. Menurut penulis hal ini sangat penting, karena disamping hal tersebut sebagai sifat bawaan manusia yang berdimensi sosial, juga tuntutan aktualisasi dari sifat tersebut adalah “hidup bermasyarakat”. Sebaliknya, sebagai “tuan rumah” pada masyarakat asli Lampung akan muncul rasa dihormati dan dihargai, sehingga nilai-nilai luhur tersebut betul-betul dapat diaktualisasikan. Lebih jauh lagi, maka muncul suatu komunitas baru yang saling menghargai dan menghormati kearifan lokal sebagai milik bersama – meskipun memiliki latar belakang yang berbeda –, hingga pada akhirnya dapat bersama-sama pula membangun bumi Lampung. Hal ini perlu ditekankan – utamanya bagi masyarakat pendatang – kiranya adat-istiadat daerah asal hendaknya tidak begitu mencolok, baik berupa simbol-simbol tertentu maupun hal lainnya, bahkan diperlukan secara perlahan menyesuaikan dengan simbol-simbol atau ornamen daerah Lampung, seperti Tapis, Siger, serta penggunaan nama desa menjadi Pekon, menggunakan bahasa daerah Lampung sebagai alat komunikasi, paling tidak akan memunculkan rasa kepemilikan terhadap kekhasan Lampung. Kesemuanya itu akan melandasi terciptanya harmonisasi umat beragama yang berbasis kearifan lokal.

Oleh karena itu, kearifan lokal menjadi penting dan bermanfaat hanya ketika masyarakat suatu daerah yang mewarisi sistem pengetahuan itu mau menerima dan mengklaim hal itu sebagai bagian dari kehidupan mereka. Dengan cara itulah, kearifan lokal dapat disebut sebagai jiwa dari budaya lokal. Hal itu dapat dilihat dari ekspresi kearifan lokal dalam kehidupan setiap hari karena telah terinternalisasi dengan sangat baik. Tiap bagian dari kehidupan masyarakat lokal diarahkan secara arif berdasarkan sistem pengetahuan mereka, dimana tidak hanya bermanfaat dalam aktifitas keseharian dan interaksi dengan sesama saja, tetapi juga dalam situasi-situasi yang tidak terduga seperti bencana yang datang tiba-tiba.
(<http://ariefksmwrdn.blogspot.co.id/2014/06/pengertian-kearifan-lokal.html>.)

Menarik apa yang diusulkan oleh Darmawan Salman, bahwa kearifan lokal bisa berkontribusi untuk penyelesaian konflik yaitu; *Pertama*, artikulasi kearifan lokal sebagai penanam budi baik bagi individu/aktor. Bila hikmah kebijaksanaan yang menjadi isi kearifan lokal dapat menanamkan budi baik kepada warga lingkungan sosialnya; sementara menekan emosi, nafsu dan murka diri untuk toleran terhadap tindakan menyinggung, mengalahkan, menyakitkan dan menghinakan dari orang lain adalah budi baik; maka dorongan untuk konflik dan tindakan kekerasan dapat diredakan melalui penghayatan dan pengamalan atas ucapan denotatif, konotatif, perspektif dan transformatif dari kearifan lokal.

Kedua, artikulasi kearifan lokal sebagai basis modal sosial untuk menegakkan kohesi sosial. Kearifan lokal adalah sumber norma, ia adalah pranata sosial yang kepatuhan kepadanya karena kerelaan. Ia adalah bagi dari unsur yang secara informal menjadikan anggota tatanan dapat mengkoordinasikan diri mewujudkan tujuan bersama, dan karena itu ia adalah bagian dari modal sosial.

Kohesi sosial yang kuat memiliki toleransi tinggi atas sensitivitas kesenjangan, ketidaksetaraan, eksklusivitas dan eksplorasi sebagai ladang bagi tersemainya konflik berkekerasan dan tindakan kekerasan. Karena itu, tempatkanlah kearifan lokal sebagai modal sosial yang sama urgensinya dengan modal sumberdaya alam, modal kecerdasan dan kompetensi SDM, modal fisik sarana/prasarana, modal teknologi dan finansial, didalam tata kelola tatanan. Dibalik preskripsi kearifan lokal secara informal; persentuhan multipihak pemerintah, civil society, dunia swasta, berbagai golongan dan lapisan masyarakat didalam tatanan lokal, lintas horizontal tatanan lokal dan lintas vertikal tatanan lokal; menjadi niscaya untuk difasilitasi secara berkala. Fasilitasi itu hendaknya mengkondisikan dialog otentik antar pihak, dalam pertukaran pengetahuan dan persinggungan latar kelembagaan yang berbeda; guna mendorong relasi resiprosikal pewacanaan isu bersama, produksi dan reproduksi saling kepercayaan, serta penumbuh-kembangan jejaring multipihak.

Ketiga, artikulasi kearifan lokal sebagai praktek teknis penyelesaian konflik dan kekerasan. Sejumlah tatanan lokal mengembangkan praktek teknis resolusi konflik dan kekerasan.

(<http://alwyrachman.blogspot.co.id/2011/04/dapatkankearifan-lokal-fungsional.html>.)

Sedangkan John Haba melihat lima peran vital kearifan lokal sebagai media resolusi konflik yaitu: *Pertama*, adalah kearifan lokal sebagai penanda identitas sebuah komunitas. Identitas tersebut menunjukkan bahwa komunitas tersebut memiliki budaya perdamaian yang berarti menunjukkan komunitas tersebut merupakan komunitas yang beradab. Hal ini dikarenakan konflik merupakan simbolisasi kultur barbarian. Tentunya dengan memiliki kearifan lokal, komunitas tersebut ingin menceritakan dirinya sebagai komunitas yang cinta damai.

Kedua, kearifan lokal sendiri menyediakan adanya aspek kohesif berupa elemen perekat lintas agama, lintas warga, dan kepercayaannya. Dalam konteks ini kearifan lokal dapat diartikan sebagai ruang maupun arena dialogis untuk melunturkan segala jenis eksklusivitas politik identitas yang melekat diantara berbagai kelompok. Adanya upaya menjembatani berbagai lintas kepentingan tersebut adalah upaya untuk membangun inklusivitas dalam meredam potensi konflik yang lebih besar lagi.

Ketiga, berbeda halnya dengan penerapan hukum positif sebagai media resolusi konflik yang selama ini jamak dilakukan oleh para penegak hukum kita kesannya “memaksa”. Hal inilah yang menjadikan resolusi konflik dengan hukum positif sendiri justru sifatnya artifisial dan temporer meskipun memiliki kekuatan hukum tetap.

Keempat, kearifan lokal memberi warna kebersamaan bagi seluruh komunitas dan dapat berfungsi mendorong terbangunnya kebersamaan, apresiasi, sekaligus sebagai sebuah mekanisme bersama menepis berbagai kemungkinan yang dapat meredusir, bahkan merusak solidaritas komunal, yang dipercaya berasal dan tumbuh diatas kesadaran bersama, dari sebuah komunitas yang terintegrasi.

Kelima, kearifan lokal akan merubah pola pikir dan hubungan timbal balik individu dan kelompok, dengan meletakkan di atas kebudayaan yang dimiliki. Maka bisa dikatakan bahwa kearifan lokal bentuk sintesa dari unsur sosio-kultural dan sosio-keagamaan yang tujuannya adalah merekatkan hubungan antar sesama masyarakat yang tereduksi perebutan kepentingan politik maupun ekonomi. (John Haba, 2008, 334-335).

Semakin jelas bahwa kearifan lokal dapat dijadikan sebagai opsi dalam resolusi konflik komunal dalam masyarakat heterogen. Ragam kearifan lokal sebagai budaya perdamaian juga turut memberikan kontribusi dalam menjaga solidaritas dan harmoni antar lintas masyarakat. Karena nilai dan praktek kearifan lokal tersebut sesungguhnya bersifat luhur dan universal. Nilai-nilai bersosialisasi, menghormati, bergotong royong serta persaudaraan dalam kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung adalah sesuatu yang luhur. Oleh karena itu modal sosial tersebut yang terumuskan sebagai konsep alamiah yang muncul dalam masyarakat yang berbudaya dapat diwarisi dan dikembangkan sebagai keunggulan lokal (*local genius*) yang dapat berguna sebagai resolusi konflik sehingga pembangunan yang kreatif dan partisipatif dapat terwujud.

Komitmen Bersama

Sosiolog kenamaan – Talcott Parsons – mengatakan jika suatu bangsa (daerah) ingin tetapi eksis, maka setidaknya harus memiliki empat paradigma fungsi yaitu *Adaptation*, *Goal attainment*, *Integration*, dan *Latent pattern-maintenance* (AGIL). *Adapation* menunjuk pada kemampuan sistem menjamin apa yang dibutuhkannya dari lingkungan serta mendistribusikan sumber-sumber tersebut ke dalam seluruh sistem. Adapun *Goal attainment* menunjuk pada pemenuhan tujuan sistem dan penetapan prioritas di antara tujuan-tujuan itu. Sedangkan *Integration* yaitu koordinasi serta kesesuaian bagian-bagian dari sistem sehingga seluruhnya menjadi fungsional. Dan *Latent pattern-maintenance* menunjuk pada masalah bagaimana menjamin kesinambungan tindakan dalam sistem sesuai dengan beberapa aturan atau norma-norma.(Talcott Parsons, cc. Margareth M. Poloma (ed.), 2010, 180-181) juga (George Ritzer dan Douglas J. Goodman, 2012, 121)

Teori Parsons tersebut – jika ditarik dalam konteks wilayah Lampung – setidaknya mengingatkan kepada masyarakat Lampung akan pentingnya kemampuan beradaptasi, baik terhadap individu/kelompok lain serta beradaptasi dengan perubahan dan kemajuan dunia yang begitu pesat. Masyarakat yang *nota bene* adalah hidup dalam suatu wilayah/daerah, harus memiliki tujuan bersama. Tujuan bersama ini cukup penting, sebab jika terjadi ketidak sepakatan terhadap sebuah tujuan bersama, maka akan terjadi konflik, pertikaian bahkan pertempuran antar masyarakat dimana hal itu akan sangat merugikan bagi kelanggengan masyarakat itu sendiri. Dengan adanya tujuan bersama, masyarakat akan memiliki motivasi yang tinggi dan kuat untuk menjadikan hidup secara damai dan harmonis serta menjadikan hidup akan lebih baik dari waktu ke waktu.

Aspek lain yang diperlukan adalah integrasi yang dibangun secara bersama-sama dengan kesadaran yang tinggi tanpa melihat adanya perbedaan latar belakang masing-masing, apalagi bagi masyarakat yang plural. Suatu integrasi yang dibangun bersama-sama tersebut dalam konteks wilayah Lampung merupakan sebuah pandangan hidup (*world view*) yang dijadikan rujukan bersama karena nilai-nilainya bersifat mendasar dan universal serta bersifat egaliter atau kesederajatan. Rujukan bersama tersebut tidak lain ialah kearifan lokal.

Lalu yang terakhir adalah kemampuan masyarakat memelihara perilaku budaya yang telah tertanam secara berurat dan berakar dalam jiwa sanubari masyarakat Lampung. Perilaku budaya yang dimaksud adalah seperti gotong royong, musyawarah, tolong menolong, toleransi dan saling menghargai serta berkepercayaan terhadap sesuatu yang menguasai alam semesta. Perilaku budaya tersebut tidak boleh bergeser menjadi perilaku budaya yang tidak sesuai apalagi bertentangan dengan perilaku budaya semula. Sebab jika terjadi suatu perubahan dengan perilaku budaya lain yang asing, hal itu berarti disatu sisi, telah menyebabkan teralienasinya perilaku budaya lama yang telah diwariskan secara turun menurun oleh para tokoh adat Lampung. Sedangkan disisi lain,

sangat boleh jadi perilaku budaya lain yang dianggap baru tersebut tidak sesuai dengan watak dan karakter masyarakat Lampung bahkan malah bertentangan bertentangan, sehingga mencitrakan manusia yang memiliki watak dan karakter negatif, karena tidak sesuai lagi dengan citra budaya awalnya.

Oleh karena itu yang diperlukan adalah adanya komitmen bersama (masyarakat asli dan pendatang) dalam mewujudkan kearifan lokal Lampung sebagai sesuatu yang bermanfaat serta menjadi paradigma berpikir dan bertindak, agar supaya konflik diwilayah ini dapat dieleminir. Kearifan lokal bukanlah suatu yang hampa dan kosong tanpa makna, akan tetapi terkandung nilai-nilai etik, spirit perjuangan dan mempertahankan hidup, egalitarianisme, kolektivisme, tolong menolong yang berlaku secara universal.

Adanya komitmen bersama dalam mengaktualisasikan kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung menjadi sesuatu yang mendesak, sebab nilai-nilai dan norma yang sejatinya bersifat luhur tersebut akan memiliki nilai manfaat, manakala adanya kesanggupan secara komit dari masyarakatnya untuk menjadikan kesemuanya itu sebagai etika dan rujukan dalam berinteraksi. Jika tidak memiliki komitmen, maka nilai-nilai kearifan lokal tersebut hanya menjadi hiasan yang tersimpan dalam etalase.

Upaya pelestarian dan pewarisan terhadap kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung seharusnya menjadi proyek bersama seluruh elemen (pemerintah dan masyarakat) yang ada di Lampung serta menjadi paradigma berpikir bersama agar kearifan lokal yang dimiliki dapat “membumi” sehingga menjadi solusi dalam menciptakan perdamaian di Provinsi yang terkenal dengan sebutan *Sai Bumi Ruwa Jurai*.

Penutup

Setiap budaya memiliki kearifan tersendiri dalam menyiapkan permasalahan hidup yang dihadapi, termasuk didalamnya bagaimana suatu kelompok atau komunitas tertentu menyelesaikan konflik yang mereka hadapi atau yang sering disebut sebagai kearifan lokal (*local wisdom*). Lampung merupakan provinsi yang plural karena terdapat berbagai macam suku, agama, ras dan lain sebagainya. Kesemuanya itu menyimpan potensi konflik cukup laten, bahkan jika tidak dikelola secara bijak dapat berujung pada dis-integrasi.

Salah satu cara yang bisa digunakan dalam mengantisipasi dan mengatasi konflik adalah dengan menggunakan media kearifan lokal. Nilai-nilai luhur dan universal dalam sebuah kearifan lokal seperti *Piil Pesenggiri* dan *Muakbi* dalam masyarakat Lampung sesungguhnya memiliki signifikansi untuk dikembangkan dalam lokus pemikiran “seluruh masyarakat Lampung”.

Adanya keanekaragaman jika tidak di *manage* sedemikian rupa, maka bisa menimbulkan problem tersendiri bagi wilayah ini. Oleh karena itu, Lampung sebagai wilayah yang plural (suku, agama, budaya, ras, golongan dan lain sebagainya), maka *mind set* yang harus melek dalam setiap individu yang harus dikembangkan adalah budaya saling menghormati, menghargai, toleransi, persaudaraan dan gotong royong yang kesemuanya itu terangkum dalam kearifan lokal masyarakat Lampung.

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INTERNAL DYNAMICS WITHIN HADHRAMI ARABS IN INDONESIA: FROM SOCIAL HIERARCHY TO ISLAMIC DOCTRINE

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Abstract: This paper examines the current landscape of Hadhrami Arab Community in Indonesia. It aims to understand the internal fissures that affect the cohesion within the community. Previous scholars have analysed the conflicts within Hadhrami community due to Yemeni traditional stratification and nationalist orientation during colonial era. However, they do not continue analysing the contemporary state of Hadhramis in Indonesia. This paper focuses on the contemporary era and argues that doctrinal contest and competition for religious authority have dominated the dynamics of conflict within Indonesian Hadhrami community. The paper raises the debates on Shi'ism within sayyids and Salafism within Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah. It suggests that political, social, and cultural transformations have shaped Hadhrami community in Indonesia.

Keywords: Hadhrami, Conflict, Sunni-Shi'a, Salafi

Introduction

Since the early 20th century, Hadhrami communities in the Netherlands East Indies have experienced a changing relationship within their own communities. The traditional social stratas, which had been transplanted to the Indies from Yemen, came under growing challenge. The dispute over the *sayyid* privileged status divided Hadhrami into conservative and reformist groups. Jamiat Khair and Rabithah Alawiyah represented the conservative Hadhrami, while Al-Irsyad represented the reformists. These groups continue to exist today. Several scholars have analysed the changing identities of Hadhrami community during colonial era (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999; Jonge, 1993; Haikal, 1986). However, the contemporary relationship within the community has attracted few scholars (eg. Slama, 2005, 2011, 2014; Bamualim, 2011). In the contemporary era where Hadhrami have become more integrated to Indonesian society, there have been few conflicts within the community as happened in the past. The community have currently experienced internal division over

doctrinal issue due to the coming of Muslim groups such as Shi'a and Salafi. The conversion of Hadhrami individuals to Shi'ism has divided the *sayyid* community which is strongly identified as traditional Sunni or *aswaja*. In the meantime, non-*sayyids* who affiliated with Al-Irsyad have also been divided in response to growing Salafi influence within the organisation.

This paper explores the current landscape of the Hadhrami community by examining the contestation occurring from colonial to post-colonial Indonesia. It aims to understand the internal fissures that affect the cohesion within the community. It analyses factors that have united or divided the community in contemporary Indonesia. It argues that while the conflict in the colonial-era was centred on the issue of Hadhrami traditional hierarchy and nationalist orientation, the current conflict has been largely driven by the competition of religious authority. It includes the conflict between Sunni and Shi'a *sayyids* as well as between two competing groups of Al-Irsyad i.e Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah and Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad. In this regard, both *sayyid* and Irsyadi feel that their religious and cultural identity has been challenged by Shi'a and Salafi. This situation led both groups to assert their religious and communal identity.

The first part of this paper provides a short background of Hadhrami and their stratification system in Hadhramawt. The second part discusses the internal conflict among Hadhrami in the Netherlands East Indies that occurred between *sayyid* and Irsyadi communities. The last part examines the current discord within Hadhrami communities by comparing internal conflict in both *sayyid* and Irsyadi community. It also analyses factors that caused a friction and tension within each Hadhrami group.

Hadhrami and Social groups in Hadhramawt

Majority of Arab communities in Indonesia originally came from Hadhramawt. Hadhrami society comprises several groups who “largely married among themselves, shared a common array of occupational statuses, and bore tangible and intangible markers of group identification” (Boxberger, 2002, p. 17). According to Bujra, stratification is an important aspect of the society (Bujra, 1971, p. xiv). The stratification system divides the population into three general stratum based on their descent: the *sayyid* (or *sada*, *syeds*, *alawiyyin*, *ba'alwi*, or *habaib*); *mashaikh* (scholars) and *qabail* (tribesmen); and the *masakin* (poor) and *du'afa'* (weak) [Bujra, 1971, p. 13; Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 25]. The top class among the social groups are the *sayyid*. The group consists of people who claim to be descendants of the Prophet Muhammad through the line of his grandson Husayn. This group is considered to have the strongest lineage and highest religious status in the society (Bujra, p. 13).

Due to their noble lineage, the *sayyid* came to be revered in Hadhramawt as teachers of Islam, imams (prayer leaders), and mediators in tribal conflicts (Mobini-Kesheh 1999, p. 25; Boxberger, 2002, p. 20). The *sayyid* were distinguished symbolically from other groups by receiving the honorifics *sayyid* (literally “master”) or *habib* (beloved) for men and *sharifa*, *habiba*, or *sayyida* for

women (Boxberger, p. 20; Mobini-Kesheh, p. 25). The community also showed respect by kissing their hands (*taqbil*) and greeting them before others in social and religious settings (Boxberger: 21).

The second stratum in Hadhrami society included the *mashaikh* (scholars) and *qabail* (tribesmen). Both groups traced their descent from a distant ancestor known as Qahtan, the eponymous ancestor of the Southern Arab (Bang, 2003, p. 13). They enjoyed their status as religious elites and leaders in Hadhramawt before the coming of *sayyids*, who displaced them as the pre-eminent religious leaders. *Qabail* (sing. *qabilah*) are tribesmen who “occupied and controlled most of the countryside, carried arms, and were considered less devout” (Mobini-Kesheh, p. 25). Lineage has defined the identity and affiliation of tribal members, and with blood connection they are expected to receive mutual support and protection (Boxberger, p. 25). This group is also known for the high importance they placed on *sharaf* (honor), which was associated with the ability to bear arms and defend one self and one’s family (Mobini-Kesheh, p. 25-26; Boxberger, 2002, p. 26). The best example of *qabail* is the Kathiri and Qu’ayti, two ruling tribes which competed for power in historical Yemen.

The third level of stratification was occupied by the *masakin* (poor) and *du’afa’* (weak). They have neither descent connection to the Prophet nor to al-Qahtan. Besides, they also had no ancestors who served as religious leaders (Bujra, 1971, p. 14). The lowest stratum among all was occupied by ‘*abid* (slaves) who were of African origin and had been brought to Yemen in 1860s. Some of them served as soldiers under the Qu’ayti and Kathiri sultanate, while others served as household servants under private families (Boxberger, p. 34-35).

Hadhrami and internal conflict in Colonial Indonesia

Equality and Revival

The identity of the Hadhrami in the Netherland East Indies was shaped by social-political factors related to both domestic and global developments. The colonial system in Indonesia as well as the spread of Islamic reformism in the 20th century influenced the undermining of the stratification system of Hadhrami. The *sayyid* group, who enjoyed elevated religious and social status from their fellow Hadhrami and local Muslim societies, were caught up in such developments. This happened against the backdrop of the Hadhrami awakening (*nahda hadhramiyah*) at the dawn of the twentieth century (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 34). In colonial times, the Hadhrami community was categorized as Foreign Orientals and placed under the European class, but above the ‘natives’. They were also subject to Dutch policies that limited their mobility (Jonge, 1993, p. 79). The Hadhrami awakening aimed to bring awareness to Arabs regarding social equality and progress by adopting modern ideas and institutions. In the early 20th century, the Hadhrami came to assert their belonging and allegiance to their homeland, Hadhramawt (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 34).

There were three modern social institutions that characterized the Hadhrami awakening: voluntary organisations, modern schools and newspapers (Mobini-Kesheh, 1997, p. 233). The earliest enactment of Hadhrami awakening was the establishment of the first modern organization for their community, Jamiat Khair (the Association for the Good) in Batavia in 1901. The founders of the organisation were *sayyid*, but in the leadership structure there were a few non-*sayyid*. Since the core program of the organisation lay in the field of education, they established Islamic schools in Batavia and Bogor that adopted a modern approach with text books, and Western sciences, as well maintaining the teaching of traditional religious subjects (Mobini-Kesheh, 1997, p. 233). To ensure the quality of religious studies and Arabic, they recruited a number of teachers from the Middle East (Noer, 1980, p. 69).

Discord among Hadhramis started when teachers recruited from the Middle East came to teach in the Jamiat Khair School. The most influential figure was the Sudanese Ahmad Surkati who had studied and taught in Mecca. During his long stay in Mecca, Surkati adopted the Egyptian ideas of Islamic reformism and became active in the modernist movement (Jonge, 1993, p. 81; Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 54). The idea of Islamic reformism was propagated by Egyptian reformers such as Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897), Muhammad 'Abduh (1849-1905), and Rashid Rida (1865-1935) at a time when the Muslim world was largely under European colonialism. The main aspiration of this movement was to reform Islam from within, arguing that the decline of Islamic civilization was due to the degeneration and corruption of Islam. It therefore promoted a return to the poor sources of Islam, the Qur'an and Hadith, while adopting the modern development (Leaman, 2006, p. 108). Surkati came to take up a position as inspector of Jamiat Khair schools, thereby contributing to the growth of the schools. He and other intellectuals infused the spirit of Islamic reformism in the schools. His reformist view became the immediate cause of conflict within the Hadhrami society. In 1912, he went to Solo to visit his friend, Awad Sungkar Al-Urmei. In a meeting with his friend he was told about a female *sayyid* (*sharifa*) in Solo who lived with a Chinese man outside marriage due to economic reasons. Surkati suggested helping the *sharifa* by separating her from her partner and seeking a Muslim man to marry her. Asked about the marriage status between a *sharifa* and a non-*sayyid*, he pronounced that such marriage is allowed according to Islamic law (Badjerei, 1996, p. 28-29). On another occasion, he criticized the practice of hand kissing for *sayyids* and attacked what he saw as the self-exaltation and delusion of their holiness (Jonge, 1993, p. 81). His views aroused indignation among conservative *sayyid* leaders of Jamiat Khair in Batavia eventually forcing Surkati to resign from his position in Jamiat Khair (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 55).

The resignation of Surkati triggered a deeper division within the Hadhrami community and led to the creation of new Hadhrami organisation with a reformist outlook. He gained support mostly from non-*sayyids*. Persuaded by reform-minded Hadhrami, most notably the Arab *kapitein* (a community leader appointed by the Dutch) Syaikh Umar Yusuf Umar

Manggus, Surkati cancelled his intention to return to Mecca and later founded his own school, Madrasah al-Irsyad al-Islamiyyah (Islamic School for Guidance) [Badjerei, 1996, p. 32; Affandi, 1999, p.13]. Following this, in 1914 Surkati and his friends established an organisation for supporting the operation of the schools under the name Jamiyat al-Islah wal-Irsyad al-Arabiyyah (Arab Association for Reform and Guidance) (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 56). Echoing the reformist movement in Egypt, Al-Irsyad sought to purify Islam of superstition and innovations as result of its interaction with localities, and return to the religious foundation i.e. the Qur'an and the Hadith. At the Arab community level, the organisation strove to abolish the traditional Hadhrami stratification system that was inherited from Hadhramawt (Jonge, 2004, p. 378; Noer, 1987, p. 12).

The rapid development of Al-Irsyad and its continuing challenge to *sayyids* created a long period of hostility between them. Established in Batavia, Al-Irsyad spread rapidly to other cities in Java and islands of the Indies. As a response to the success of Al-Irsyad, in 1927 several *sayyid* established an organisation for their community called Rabithah Alawiyah, the Union of the Descendants of the Prophet. This organisation opposed attempts by the Irsyadis (followers of Al-Irsyad) to remove privilege position of the *sayyid* (Jonge, 1993, p. 378). Rabithah has an institution called al-Maktab al-Daimi (Daily Office) which serves to preserve *sayyid* history and record their genealogy. In 1940, the institution recorded 17,764 *sayyid* with their genealogies from various parts of Indonesia (AD-ART Rabithah Alawiyah).

The different stance between Al-Irsyad and Rabithah Alawiyah led them to oppose each other either through words or actions. Their debates were published in Arabic papers, pamphlets, and brochures where each group defended their position and attacked their rival (Jonge, 1993, p. 82). The debate revolved around three main areas of Hadhrami custom: "the kissing of *sayyid*'s hands, the ban on marriage between a *sayyid*'s daughter and a non-*sayyid*, and the use of the title "*sayyid*" (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 92). Mobini-Kesheh (1999) observed that the debate over *sayyid* status was expressed in terms of Hadhraminess. In this sense, each group claimed that they were more Hadhrami than others. To the *sayyids*, obedience to the traditional stratification system was the essence of Hadhrami identity, while for non-*sayyids* the tradition was imposed by *sayyid* whom they regard as "intruders" to Hadhrami society. In this regard, Irsyadis sought to be 'modern' while maintaining their Hadhrami identity (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 92). A culminating point of the debate was the decision of Al-Irsyad to desacralize the title "*sayyid*". Al-Irsyad's congress in 1931 in Batavia decided that the title *sayyid* was not exclusive to a particular group (*sayyids*) but could be addressed to anyone who deserves respect, regardless their lineage. For them, the title "*sayyid*" should be equated to "mister" or "sir" in general use. By this, Al-Irsyad suggested that any person has the right to use such a title. This decision appalled the *sayyids* who feared the loss of their aristocratic privileges (Jonge. 1993, p. 82). The *sayyids* fiercely

rejected the idea and argued that “the title “*sayyid*” was long established by custom in Hadhramawt, in the Indies, and other parts of the Islamic world” (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 105). Moreover, they contended that the title had to be preserved in order to follow Islamic law that especially applies to descendants of the Prophet, such as the law of *kafa'ah* (equivalence) in marriage. The title was important for *sayyid* because it could remind their offspring to undertake their religious responsibility in societies (Mobini-Kesheh, p. 106). The polemic between the two groups resulted in serious riots and violence. In Bondowoso, for instance, several Irsyadi who pushed forward during prayer in a mosque were killed by *sayyids* (Jonge, p. 1993, p. 84).

Both *sayyids* and Irsyadis petitioned the Dutch Government on the issue of *sayyid* status. The *sayyids*, under the Rabithah organisation, sought legal recognition of their title, but the Irsyadi asked the government to be neutral in the conflict by rejecting the *sayyid*'s demands. The government finally decided that it would not fulfil the *sayyid*'s wishes. The conflict was finally over due to the role of new generation of *sayyids* who preferred to focus on the issue of education rather than extending their battle with Irsyadi (Mobini-Kesheh, 1999, p. 107). In the meantime, younger generation Irsyadis, along with some progressive *sayyid* who were born in Indonesia (*muwallad*), opposed the division within Hadhrami community and sought to integrate them into Indonesian society by establishing the Persatuan Arab Indonesia (PAI), the Union of Indonesian Arabs (Jonge, 1993, p. 86).

Hadhrami in Contemporary Indonesia: Internal Divisions and Growing Sectarianism

The Current Sunni-Shi'a Division within Sayyid Community

The friction within the Hadhrami-*sayyid* community over the Shi'a issue has occurred at both the leadership and grassroots level. However, the dispute among *sayyid* leaders is more exposed in media than from the grassroots. Several *sayyid* told me that the doctrinal tension occurred in the community due to the rising Shi'ism in Indonesia in the wake of Iranian revolution in 1979. The charisma of Ayatollah Khomeini, who is also a *sayyid*, with his success in leading the revolution, made him an appealing figure among *sayyid* community in Indonesia. He was regarded as a brave Muslim scholar and leader who opposed a tyrant government, back up by US, only through sermons and brochures (Interview with Habib Hasan Daliel, January 28, 2013). A popular preacher in Malang, Habib Jamal b. Ba'agil, told me that the conversion of young Hadhramis to Shi'ism was also due to the absence of ulama idols from Hadhramawt whom could become reference for Hadhrami-*sayyids* in 1980s and 1990s (Interview with Habib Jamal b. Ba'agil, March 25, 2013). This was the result of the severing of ties between Indonesia and Yemen after the Socialist won power in Sana'a from 1967 to 1990. This affected the conversion of young generations of *sayyid* to Shi'a. This was indicated, for instance, by the story of Husein Shahab, who went to study in Iran several months after the revolution. His previous motivation to study in Qum initially was more educational than

doctrinal. In time, though, he converted to Shi'ism (Zulkifli, 2013, p. 61-62). Conversion to Shi'ism has increased among Hadrami, as well Indonesians in general, after the return of the graduates from Iran. Many of them became preachers and writers, and founded Shi'ite educational institutions and religious learning centres. As observed by Zulkifli, the majority of students at the Shi'i YAPI *pesantren* in Bangil have been dominated by Indonesian Arabs (Zulkifli, 2013, p. 144).

The growing conversion of young *sayyids* to Shi'ism caused deepening concerns in Sunni-Shafi'i Hadhrami community. Some *habaib* told me that the Shi'a issue has led to disputes and splits within *sayyid* families. There are cases of Sunni parents repudiating their children who converted to Shi'ism. Several divorces also happened when one spouse found the other had converted to Shi'ism (Interview with Syafiq, August 12, 2015; Alwi al-Kaff, August 13, 2015). *Sayyid* families who are tolerant to Shi'ism or seek to maintain harmony within their family tend to be silent on the matter if they know that one of their family members are Shi'a. In organisational and educational settings, tension also occurred. The leader of Ahlul Bayt Indonesia (ABI), one of the main Shi'ite organisations in Indonesia, Habib Hasan Dalil al-Aydarus, was fascinated with Ayatollah Khomeini when he, along with his Sunni colleague, Habib Rizieq Shihab, studied in the Saudi Arabia. When returning to Indonesia, he dedicated himself to teaching at his former school, Jamiat Khair in Jakarta. However, when the school's principal and teachers found that he had 'converted' to Shi'ism (Interview with Syauqi, February 2, 2013). He was censured and eventually resigned. Habib Hasan later established Ahlul Bayt Indonesia together with his Shi'i friends.

Albayyinat and Anti-Shi'a

The vast majority of *sayyid* religious scholars and preachers in Indonesia maintain that their ancestors are Sunni. They emphasize that Sunni Islam is integral to the identity of Hadhrami *sayyid* ever since their ancestor's migration to Indonesia and until now. They regard Shi'a a new and disturbing development among *sayyid*. Most preachers I met argue that Shi'a is a deviant sect within Islam. In countering Shi'ism, most Sunni *habaib* prefer to focus on peaceful preaching and education rather than through a public agitation or vigilante action. Claiming to follow the ethics of the *Tariqa 'Alaniyah* ('Alawi spiritual path), most *habaib* prefer not to mention their Shi'a rivals by name in their sermon. However, some *habaib* do openly oppose Shi'ism in their preaching and writings.

Habaib resistance to Shi'ism took a tangible form with the establishment of Albayyinat in 1988. This movement was founded by several *habaib* in Java including Habib Ahmad b. Zein Al-Kaff of Surabaya, Habib Thohir b. Abdullah Al-Kaff of Tegal, Habib Abdul Qadir Al-Haddad of Malang, and Habib Ahmad Assegaf of Bangil (Interview with Habib Achmad b. Zein Alkaff, March 13, 2013). Although it was founded in 1988, its name began to appear in public after the fall of the New Order. Its website stated that the emergence of

the group was driven by the growing development of Shi'ism in Indonesia bringing religious teaching that had 'deviated' from the Prophet's teaching. It asserted Shi'is condemn and insult the Companions of the Prophet (Albayyinat n.d). Albayyinat calls itself Sunni group that seeks to protect Sunni Muslims from the spread of Shi'ism. Despite the various types of Shi'ism, Albayyinat regards it as single face which is all deviant and, therefore, an enemy of Islam. The group's activities focus on socialization and preaching on the danger of Shi'a through publications and the internet, trainings, seminars, and sermons. The group has also built a collaboration with Muslims organisations, either traditionalist or Salafi, in opposing Shi'ism. Despite their limited activity, Albayyinat's voice is getting louder in media and has contributed in inciting intolerance and violence to Shi'a community.

The chairman of Albayyinat, Habib Achmad b. Zein Al-Kaff, has sharply criticized Shi'as and condemned Muslim leaders who he sees as tolerant to Shi'ism, including *habaib*. He has been popularly invited by various organisations, whether traditionalist or reformist to give anti-Shi'a talks and cadre training. He urges the solidarity of all Sunni Muslims, including the Salafists, to fight against Shi'a as a common enemy. Not only attacking the Shi'i leaders and their institutions, he also criticizes moderate Muslims who seek to build a harmony with Shia.

Attacking Fellow Habaib

Criticizing and denouncing fellow *habaib* publicly is a recent phenomenon among *habaib* in Indonesia. This is largely due to theological issues. Habib Achmad of Albayyinat is a good case on this matter. In several public sermons and seminars, Habib Achmad strongly criticized fellow *habaib* who have converted to Shi'ism. He regards this phenomenon as a blight on *sayyid* community. He argues that Sunnism is the core identity of *habaib* since their earliest ancestor in Yemen, Ahmad b. Isa al-Muhajir. In a seminar entitled "Why Shi'a are not Muslim" on February 2014 in Surakarta, Habib Achmad stated "if there are *habaib* becoming Shi'i, (it means) they have become traitors to their ancestor (the Prophet). If they do not walk along the path of '*Alaniyyin*, they are not *habaib* anymore" (Kiblat, 2014).²⁵ In my interview, he expressed his dissatisfaction with the Rabithah Alawiyah which he accused of not serious by countering Shi'ism, although it bases its religious principles on Sunni Islam. He urges that the Rabithah to adopt the anti-Shi'i program that Albayyinat proclaims. He suspects that its failure to tackle Shi'ism is due to the fact that some Rabithah leaders have Shi'a relatives. He mentioned the case of the general chairman of Rabithah Alawiyah, Habib Zen Umar b. Smith, who has a Shi'a brother-in-law, a famous religious singer, Haddad Alwi (Interview with Habib Achmad b. Zein Alkaff, March 13, 2013).

²⁵ Habib Achmad's talks and interviews on Shi'ism is often exposed by conservative online media such as www.kiblat.net, www.voa-islam.com, www.arrahmah.com, www.hidayatullah.com, www.erasmus.com, and www.antiliberalnews.com.

One of Habib Achmad's targets is the famous Muslim scholar and the prolific writer Professor Quraish Shihab, who is a *sayyid*. Quraish is a former rector of the State Institute for Islamic Studies (IAIN) of Jakarta (1992-1998) and a former Minister of Religious Affairs (1998). He pursued Islamic studies at the Al-Azhar University, Egypt, from undergraduate to doctoral level. Although Quraish has descent from the Prophet, he avoids using the title *habib* and does not wear specific clothing that identifies him as *habib*. Quraish is popularly known as a moderate ulama whose views and works have a wide appeal to many Muslims in Indonesia. He has produced numerous books on Islam and a complete volume of Qur'anic exegesis (*Kitab Tafsir*). Despite his moderate views, aspects of his thought have been criticized by Islamist and conservative groups in Indonesia. One of those is his idea to bridge the distance between Sunnis and Shi'is, such as set out in *Sunni-Shi'i Holding Hands: Is it Possible?* The book examines the similarities and differences in terms of theological doctrines between both groups. For Quraish, the difference between the two is not significant, and therefore, he advocates unity and enjoins Indonesian Sunni Muslims live in harmony with Shi'a. In response to this book, Habib Achmad condemned idea of bridging (*taqrif*) the two groups and argued that Shi'as are non-Muslims due to their incorrect theology. He likens Sunni and Shi'a to water and oil that can never mix. This was due to the sharp differences between the two in both doctrinal pillars (*ushul*) and branches (*furu*). *Ushul* is related to pillars of religion while *furu* is related to practices of religion. Having different views on the former can lead a Muslim to be judged 'deviant', while having different views on the later has no consequence since it has different interpretations. Habib Achmad suspected that the project of reconciling the two groups is part of a hidden Shi'a agenda aimed at taking over the Sunni majority in Indonesia. He also suspected that Quraish already was approached and funded by the Shi'is through their generous projects (Interview with Habib Achmad b. Zein Al-Kaff, March 13, 2013).

Another target of Habib Achmad's criticism was the leader (*imam besar*) of Islamic Defenders Front (Front Pembela Islam, FPI), Habib Muhammad Rizieq b. Syihab. Habib Rizieq, with his FPI, has acquired notoriety as a radical figure who fights against immorality and threats to Islam. He has been very critical of liberal Muslim thinkers and several groups considered as deviant such as Ahmadiyah. Despite his militant views and actions, Habib Rizieq still considers Shi'a as a part of Islam. He divides Shi'i into two groups: the just and moderate Shi'i (*mu'tadil*) and the extremist Shi'i (*ghulat*). For Habib Rizieq, in spite of their high respect to Ali, the former group does not condemn the Companions of the Prophet and His wife, Aisha. They also do not attack Sunni Muslims in public. Moderate Shi'a, for him, are not deviant and are still within the straight path of Islam. However, for the second group, he considers it deviant since they condemn the companions of the Prophet and Aisha and readily attack Sunni Muslims in their sermons (Interview with Habib Muhammad Rizieq b. Syihab, April 4, 2013). Despite Habib Rizieq's criticism of 'extreme' Shi'a, he is still denounced by Habib Achmad, particularly for his

attitude regarding the moderate Shi'is, and for his willingness to have Shi'i give sermons in his house. He urged Habib Rizieq to become more emphatic against all Shi'is (Interview with Habib Achmad b. Zein Al-Kaff, March 13, 2013).

Since Albayyinat is a minor group it does not represent the *habaib*'s radical attitude to Shi'ism. The organisation has no headquarter, clear structure, and mass-following. Neither it has systematic mass mobilization. Most of anti-Shi'a campaign is expressed through sermons and books mostly by Habib Achmad. Although many Sunni *habaib* reject Shi'a, they do not express their rejection through public agitation and violence. They prefer to strengthen the Sunni belief of their community in order to protect them from Shi'a influences. However, Habib Achmad is popular among conservative *habaib* and Islamists especially with regard to his strong anti-Shi'ism.

Despite its organizational limit, anti-Shi'a campaign has helped to stigmatize and provoke violence towards Shi'is. One instance of their involvement in inciting hate and violence was the mob attack on Ponpes Darul Sholihin owned by Habib Ali b. Umar al-Habsyi, in Jember, East Java on 11 September 2013. This attack, however, was not mobilized by Albayyinat leaders. The attack was driven by the allegation that the *pesantren* had spread Shi'ism to its students. Habib Ali clarified that he and his teachers did not spread Shi'ism, but only taught Sufism and undertake healing practice in the *pesantren* (Kontras, 2013; Republika, 2013). The Commission for the Disappearance and Victims of Violence (Kontras) found in the field that the false accusation was driven by competition and envy on the side of several local *ustadz* (religious preachers and teachers) in the area due to the success of Habib Ali in managing the *pesantren* and expanding its building facilities (Kontras, 2013). The source from Shi'i media, few blogs, and videos on youtube informed that Habib Muhdhor al-Hamid, a vocal anti-Shi'i *babib* from Jember who is affiliated to Albayyinat, was involved in inciting the violence.²⁶ It was reported that local preachers, who were hostile to Habib Ali, facilitated a public gathering several months before the incident and invited anti-Shi'a *habaib* from Albayyinat including Habib Achmad b. Zein Al-Kaff of Surabaya and Habib Muhdhor al-Hamid of Jember to give sermons on the danger of Shi'a to local Muslims. However, it cannot be proved whether their sermons were the major drive for the *pesantren* mob attack. In fact, the mastermind behind the attack was local preachers who facilitated Albayyinat leaders to give sermons on anti-Shi'ism.

The growing anti-Shi'a campaign by some *habaib* has not resulted into greater level of conflict between Sunni and Shi'a within the *sayyid* community. The major reason is that *sayyid* community have been divided in responding to

²⁶ See for instance <<http://www.tvshia.com/indonesia/index.php/news/299-kronologi-kejadian-penyerangan-pp-darus-sholihin-dalam-rangka-peringatan-maulid-nabi-saw-ke-28>> accessed on 14 July 2015.

Shi'ism. The Rabithah Alawiyah itself has not declared officially that it rejects Shi'ism. Shi'a *sayyids* are tolerated to attend the Rabithah's social and religious events, although none of them have positions in the Rabithah. As the minority, the Shi'a leaders and scholars tend to use defensive strategy by clarifying perceived misunderstanding of Shi'ism and put forward the common platform and unity among Muslims. Their attempt has been also supported by moderate Sunni scholars such as Prof Quraish Shihab and religious leaders from the Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah.

The Split of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah: A Doctrinal Contest

Over the past decade, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah has been divided into two camps: Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah and Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad. The former one is the old guard that claimed to maintain the original modernist spirit of the organisation, while the latter is the conservative faction, which is influenced by Salafi views, that has sought to bring purification and more professional management within the organisation. I argue that while leadership rivalry is the trigger for the division, the root cause behind the conflict was the contest for authority between the modernists and the young conservatives that both claim to maintain the teaching of the founder, Imam Ahmad Surkati.

The leadership conflict started in the mid-1990s. This was driven by the dissatisfaction of a group of Irsyadis toward the leadership of Geys Amar who had been a three-time chairman since 1982. The anti-Geys group wanted regeneration and religious purification in the organisation. At the Al-Irsyad congress in 1996 in Pekalongan, Geys Amar ran again for the chairmanship. His only rival, Muhammad Bawazir, withdrew the election in order to avoid conflict with Geys. Geys automatically won the vote for another period. Geys felt under pressure by some of his executive board whom he considered fanatics and trouble makers in the organisation (Interview with Geys Amar, February 11, 2013). Amar, therefore, in 1998 purged more than ten executive members, including his deputy chairman, Muhammad Bawazir. This removal led to the dissident group to hold an extraordinary congress in Tawangmangu, Central Java, on October 1999, resulting in the formation of a new rival Al-Irsyad leadership. The newly elected chairman was Farouk Zein Bajabir. In the following year, the Amar's camp held a 37th congress in Bandung in which Hisyam Thalib was elected as the new leader while Geys Amar became General Secretary.

There were several attempts by the rival boards at reconciliation through mediation. They agreed to organize a joint congress in Cilacap in 2002. In the congress, the majority of participants voted for Farouk from the conservative group. However, the old-guard was aggrieved at their defeat. They regarded the congress as unconstitutional and refused to accept the result. Both appealed to the high court in East Jakarta to validate their legal status. In 2004 the court ruled in favour of the modernists and declared the 2002 congress in Cilacap invalid. After their defeat, the conservatives established a new organisation called "Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad" (Al-Irsyad Association) by modifying the name

and the flag of the former organisation. The organisation has been registered by the Ministry of Law and Human Rights through a ministerial decision in 2013. There continues to be attempts from both sides at reconciliation, yet this has not been successful, to date.

Both the old modernist and the young conservative group share a similar concern with Al-Irsyad's stagnation. Compared to another modernist organisation, Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad has experienced a very little organisational expansion or increase in the number of educational institutions and quality of its education. In 2009, Al-Irsyad has only 132 branches across 23 provinces, 8 hospitals in various cities, and 140 educational institutions from kindergarten to high schools (Al-Irsyad, 2009). According to Slama, the limited expansion of Al-Irsyad lies in its failure "in recruiting substantial numbers of Indonesian Muslims from outside the Hadhrami community and is still widely perceived as an 'Arab' organization" (Slama, 2014, p. 121). Besides, Al-Irsyad schools also show poorer performance compared to other Islamic schools due to the lack of human resources, limited support from Hadhrami community, and the lack of Irsyadi orientation in its curriculum (Al-Irsyad, 2006). Despite various indicators of Al-Irsyad's malaise, most Irsyadi leaders in both camps are more inclined to relate their organisation's decline with the lack of ideological adherence within the organisation and in education. In other words, many Irsyadis do not teach and implement the values of "being Irsyadi" at both organisations and Al-Irsyad schools.

The two groups seek to revive the golden age of the organisation and its educational institutions as developed by Ahmad Surkati. They believe that Al-Irsyad has been in crisis, especially in terms of the adherence of ideological principles and the mastery of Arabic and Islamic studies. Some leaders told me that many young Irsyadis now no longer implement and nor even understand Al-Irsyad's principles (*mabadi*). Moreover, many young Irsyadis no longer comprehend Arabic and lack Islamic knowledge. Therefore, there is a growing concern among Irsyadi leaders to revive the identity and Islamic skills of Irsyadis.

Doctrinal issues are the main source of division. The old Al-Irsyad leaders argue that the big challenge of the organisation is coming from Salafi-Wahhabi influences upon the young generation. They believe that too many Irsyadis studied in Salafi educational institutions in Jakarta, such as the Institute of the Study of Islam and Arabic (*Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Islam dan Bahasa Arab*, LIPIA). Some LIPIA graduates later continued their study in Islamic universities in Saudi Arabia, Yemen and Afghanistan. At these institutions, they were influenced by Salafi-Wahhabi teachings. Geys stated:

Those (Irsyadis) who studied in the Middle East, either wittingly or not, were influenced by Wahhabi thought. This could be seen from the way they pray and the style of their clothes and appearance such as wearing trousers right to their ankles (isbal), having long beards, and their wives wearing an enveloping black veil. They behave as if the truth is only on their side (Gatra 26, May 7, 2009)

Noorhaidi Hasan's study (2006) on Salafi movement in Indonesia observed that several leading Salafi leaders in Indonesia were Hadhrami Arabs and some of them were previously educated in Al-Irsyad schools. According to old Al-Irsyad leaders, when these young Hadhramis returned to Indonesia, they became active members and injected more conservative views that differ radically from traditional Irsyadi principles. For instance, these youths prefer to use *ru'ya* (sighting moon) instead of *bisab* (modern calculation) on determining the coming day of Ramadhan month. Many of them also insisted segregating men and women in Al-Irsyad's events. For senior Irsyadi leaders, their views and attitudes were puritanical and contained seeds of radicalism and possibly even terrorism. They regard their religious understanding as contrary to Irsyadi principles that teach adapting to modernity (Interview, Said Sungkar and Zeyd Al-Hiyed, April 16, 2013). Geys Amar asserted that the conservative group tried to inject their Wahhabi teaching into young Irsyadis and hijack the organisation by running for leadership positions. The reason he dismissed more than ten executive members in 1998 was because he believed they were bringing problems into the organisation (Interview with Geys Amar, February 11, 2013).

The old camp leaders saw that the penetration of Wahhabism in the organisation has been due to the external and internal factors. The external factor relates to the expansion of Salafism in Indonesia through generous Saudi funding. According to Geys Amar, the Wahhabi infiltration came through Saudi donation that was channelled through the Religious Attaché in the Saudi Arabia embassy in Jakarta. Donations were delivered to schools, *pesantren*, and mosques owned by Al-Irsyad. They also provided scholarships to those wanting to study Arabic course and Islamic studies in Indonesia, such as LIPIA, and to those who want to study in Saudi Arabia (Gatra 26, May 7, 2009). I observed that several Irsyadis who studied in Saudi-funded institutions have become prominent preachers within the Salafi community in Indonesia. They include Yusuf Usman Baisa (the current chairman of the Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad, Farid Ahmad Okbah (the former member of Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad)²⁷, and Ja'far Umar Thalib (the former principal of Al-Irsyad school in Tengaran and the founder of Laskar Jihad).

The second factor is related to the reformist nature of the organisation and the lack of Irsyadi identity. One Irsyadi leader, Said Sungkar, said that it is understandable why Irsyadis easily moved to Wahhabi groups as both have similar ideals of religious reformism i.e returning to the Qur'an and Hadith. The difference is that the Salafist are heavily reliant on religious texts, and thus rigid and textual, while Irsyadis also take account external factors such as social reality and science in understanding texts. He exemplified the case of slavery, which Salafis see as justified by texts (Interview with Sungkar, April 16, 2013).

²⁷ Okbah actively promotes anti-Shi'ism through *dakwah* and urges Indonesian Muslims to join jihad in Syria against the Assad regime. According to Sidney Jones, Okbah is an ex-member of Jemaah Islamiyah (JI) and Afghan veteran. See Jones (2013), IPAC Report 2 December, p. 4.

Furthermore, younger Irsyadis seem unattracted to the organisation's identity and established ideology. Since Indonesian independence, the government demanded all schools, including Al-Irsyad, to use Indonesian language as the primary language in learning activities. This affected Al-Irsyad schools which used Arabic as their main language. This was exacerbated by the fact that the founder of the organisation, Ahmad Surkati, did not leave obvious works that could become a doctrinal foundation. Unlike the reformist organisation Muhammadiyah, Al-Irsyad schools do not provide a particular subject related to the ideological principles that will become point of reference in their religious view and practice. Moreover, the 'secular' subjects are now more dominant than religious subjects because of need to meet national guidelines (Interview with Said Sungkar and Zeyd Al-Hiyed, April 16, 2013). In dealing with this situation, Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah has recently published a manual containing the organisation's principles and their explanation for Irsyadis aiming at strengthening their identity. The principles include the source of Islamic law, *aqidah/tawhid* (theology), *ibadah* (religious devotion), *akhlak* (ethics), egalitarianism (*al-musawa*), knowledge, and modernity (PP. Al-Irsyad al-Islamiyah, 2012). To illustrate their approach to asserting their ideology, the chairman of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah, Abdullah Jaidi, stated in his foreword of the book:

Today, foreign thoughts have infiltrated the environment of Al-Irsyad. The thoughts seem not in line with our mabadi (principles) that we hold. This infiltration takes form in two big streams. The first wave brings us to a conservative condition (jumud) in which people only rely on the past and use taqlid (blind following), while the second wave is liberal thought that could uproot us from our values of religion and history...Therefore, as the central leaders of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah consider that it is important to revive the identity (jati diri) of the followers of al-Irsyad by enhancing their understanding of mabadi, which serves as ideology of organisation, and their understanding of Islam that is adaptive and in line with the development of history and situation (PP. Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah, 2012, pp. 9-10).

Such statements indicate the worriness of old Al-Irsyad leaders towards new thoughts which is perceived as a challenge to the religious identity of Irsyadis. Interestingly, foreign thoughts that they anticipate are coming from Muslim groups. Abdullah mentioned two fronts of thoughts: conservatism and liberalism. Although Abdullah did not state clearly which groups he meant, he denotes to Salafism and liberal Islam. The book was published partly in order to avoid the previous precedent where young Irsyadis were influenced by Saudi Salafism. In terms of his rejection of liberal Islam, Abdullah has the same view with the young Al-Irsyad although his camp was accused as liberal. Both camps see liberal Islam have used rationality over doctrines in understanding Islam. For them, this could lead Muslims to adopt secularism and abandon their Islamic values. By publishing the *mabadi*, Abdullah hopes that it could become a guideline for Irsyadis in grasping the Al-Irsyad ideological principles and protecting themselves from foreign influences.

The rival executive board, Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad, emphasized leadership and doctrinal problem as the cause of the conflict. The leadership problem in

their view lay with the style of leadership of Geys Amar, who was too dominant and not accommodative to young Irsyadi aspirations. As Geys had occupied four periods of leadership from 1982 to 2000, he was seen as resistant to organisational regeneration and innovation. The Perhimpunan group sees itself as idealists who have fought to improve the organisation through more professional management and the maintenance of Irsyadi basic principles (*mabadi*) (Interview with Yusuf Usman Baisa and Husin Maskati, July 4, 2013; Muhammad Bawazir, September 11, 2013). Before the conflict, the Chairman Deputy, Muhammad Bawazir, and several executive members proposed improving the organisation through the adoption of Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) and spelling out the authority and rights of chairman and other members. Geys approved this idea but later reneged, believing that the new rules limited his leadership. He felt under pressure and later removed several executive members. The Perhimpunan camp considered the reshuffle as the way for Amar in securing his position from internal threats (Interview with Muhammad Bawazir, September 11, 2013).

Besides leadership issues, the Perhimpunan group also objects to the doctrine of the main Al-Irsyad's camp. They reject accusation that they are Wahhabis who have radical understanding of Islam. They regard such accusation as slanderous and a vilification of their group. They fought back by stating that the old group is too loose in upholding and implementing religion (Gatra 26, May 7, 2009). Yusuf suspected that the former camp was influenced by the ideas of liberalism and pluralism. This is due to their consideration in adapting social reality and modernity in interpreting the texts. In Yusuf's view, the former group leaders tend to favour hedonism (*bura-hura*) by mixing the interaction of men and women in Al-Irsyad's program activities and wedding parties. For the Perhimpunan camp, this contradicts with the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. The Perhimpunan group, therefore, has sought to revive religious purification in the organisation. In so doing, they seek to remind Irsyadis to uncompromisingly uphold the Qur'an and Hadith through education and *dakwah*. Yusuf regards the spirit of purification was the important principle of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah laid down by the founder Ahmad Surkati. He sees the common platform between Al-Irsyad and Salafis in terms of ideology (Interview with Yusuf Usman Baisa, July 4, 2013).

Yusuf's puritanical views and his close connection to Salafi group indicate that he is a Salafist. A Salafist means that he follows the puritanical doctrines of Salafism. There are several indications of this. Firstly, he follows the conservative views of Salafi in several aspects. One of them is the strict segregation between men and women in public activities. I observed that he and several members of Perhimpunan also follow Salafi style of clothing such as wearing trousers right to their ankles (*isbal*). What is more, he regarded Al-Irsyad as a Salafi in spirit. He even suggested me to listen to Roja TV and Radio, one of important Salafi media in Indonesia, in order to know more about Al-Irsyad's views. Secondly, the clear evidence of his connection to Salafi group could be seen from his important roles in Salafi communities where he is often invited as speakers and preachers.

Yusuf himself did not object to be called as Salafi, yet he did not like to be called as ‘Wahhabi’. This might be because Salafi term sounds positive while Wahhabi, which means ‘followers of Muhammad b. ‘Abd al-Wahhab’, is now viewed negatively being linked to Islamic radicalism and terrorism.

Yusuf’s arguments indicate that he misunderstood the modernist characters of Al-Irsyad as laid down by Ahmad Surkati. His Salafi outlook led him to only pick up purification aspect of Al-Irsyad and neglect its modernity aspect such as upholding egalitarianism and the compatibility between Islam and the modern development. His failure in understanding Al-Irsyad’s modernity led him to accuse Geys Amar and his camp as liberal. Geys’ views seem to follow the teaching of Imam Surkati. He and the old-camp still uphold religious purification as one part of Irsyadi identity. The recent manual of the old-camp even regards Islamic liberalism as the challenge of Al-Irsyad besides conservative Salafism. However, the major problem of Geys lied in his too long-serving leadership and his failure in accommodating young Irsyadis’ aspiration in making the organisation and their schools more developed and performing. Instead, he exaggerated the danger of Salafi-influenced Irsyadis and blamed them as the source of the organisation’s decline.

Conclusion

This paper has examined the internal dynamics within the Hadhrami community from the colonial era till the present Indonesia. It concludes that the conflicts within Hadhrami community shifted from Hadhrami traditional stratification to Islamic doctrine. The coming of a new religious belief that challenges the privilege and authority of religious elites can lead to a tension and division between groups. However, the changing political and social contexts influence the way Hadhramis maintain their authority and status. In colonial era, Hadhrami community were consolidated in attempt to gain equality and modern education (Hadhrami awakening) in the Netherland East Indies. This was inspired by Chinese awaking which was embodied in the foundation of modern associations and schools. This was also a response to discriminated policy of the colonial Dutch that categorized Arabs in the second class after Europeans. Following Hadhrami tradition, Hadhramis gave a privilege to *sayyid* group who was at the top strata of traditional hierarchy in their homeland. As the inheritors of the Prophet and the intercessors, they enjoyed special treatment from other Hadhrami groups and local Muslims in the form of hand-kissing. However, the coming of recruited teacher from Mecca, Syekh Ahmad Surkati, who spread views of Islamic reformism, challenged the *sayyid* group. The reformist idea, which was adopted from Egypt thinkers, campaigned for egalitarianism (*musawa*) among Muslims irrespective of their nationalities, class, and lineages. The challenge on the Hadhrami stratification finally divided the community into two organisations: Jamiat Khair and Al-Irsyad. Most of the non-*sayyids* who favour Islamic reformism joint the latter group. The Indies-born Hadhrami, however, fed up with the conflict between their parents. They sought to unite Hadhramis from different groups and called them to consider Indonesia as their motherland. Their movement

became tangible with the foundation of Indonesian Arab Union (PAI) where most of its members were *muwallad* (diaspora-born). This movement created a new division among Hadhramis, especially between the *wulayati* and *muwallad* members of PAI. This division, however, ended after the independence of Indonesia.

In the post-independence Indonesia, especially after 1980s, the new challenge has come again to the two Hadhrami groups. The rising globalisation avenues have facilitated the flowing of ideas and funding from the Middle East to Indonesia. The ideas of transnational Islamic movements such as Salafism and Shi'ism had been spread among university students since 1980s and later gained freedom to establish various organisations after Soeharto era. Like other Indonesian Muslims, some young generations of Hadhramis were interested in the movements and join them. The charisma of Khomeini and his successful revolution attracted young *sayyids* to study in Iran and later converted to Shi'ism. This conversion struck the *sayyid* community which generally follows Sunni theology and Shafi'i legal school. Several conservative *habaib* emerged and addressed criticism to Shi'a *sayyids* and those moderate scholars, including *habaib*, who promote dialogue between the two groups. They assert Sunnism as the identity of *sayyids* and Indonesian Muslims. In this respect, traditional Sunnism becomes a solidarity rope among *sayyids*.

In the case of Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah, the conflict has happened in organisational level. The conflict was driven by doctrinal contestation between old-modernist and young conservative camp. The conflict was triggered by the reshuffle of several executive members by the long-service leader Geys Amar in 1998. Amar regarded the members as Salafi intruders who injected conservatism among Irsyadis. The conflict finally divides the organisation into two: Al-Irsyad Al-Islamiyah and Perhimpunan Al-Irsyad. The former group claims to maintain Al-Irsyad from conservative Salafi influences while the latter group claims to revive the glory of the organisation through more assertive religious observance and more professional management. The key leaders were educated in the Saudi-funded Salafi educational institutions and were largely influenced by Salafism. They are cast as Wahhabi group trying to bring radical Islam into the organisation. In the meantime, the conservative camp views the old-modernist as liberal and pluralist and, hence, deviated from the true principle of Al-Irsyad (*mabadi*). The two groups have competed for Irsyadi authority by reasserting and selecting the doctrinal principles of Al-Irsyad.

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ANRÉGURUTTA HAJI MUHAMMAD AS'AD AL-BUGISY (1907-1952) AND THE ROLE OF HIS PESANTREN IN THE MAINTENANCE OF BUGIS IDENTITY AND LITERACY IN SOUTH SULAWESI

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Abstract: Pesantren study has become a fast growing field since the last three decades. Studies of this genre mostly focus on pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Java and, to some extent, in Sumatera and Lombok. These studies, however, rarely look at pesantren established in outer islands such as Kalimantan, Sulawesi and Moluccas. They barely also explore how pesantren play such a crucial role in maintaining not only traditional Islam (ahl al-sunnah wa al-jama'ah) but also vernacular culture and language. Based on an anthropological research, this paper explores the role of Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisy (1907-1952) and his pesantren in the maintenance of Bugis identity and literacy through its various religious, educational and social programs in South Sulawesi and beyond. Anrégurutta Muhammad As'ad al-Bugis (1907-1952), the founder of this institution, has been the most influential figure in the early formation, transformation and reproduction of Islamic authority in the region from the second part of the 20th century. His pesantren, Pesantren As'adiyah, is the oldest and still today the most important Islamic educational institution in South Sulawesi.

Keywords: Muhammad As'ad, Pesantren As'adiyah, Bugis Identity, Literacy

Introduction

This paper explores the role of Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisy (1907-1952) in the maintenance of Bugis identity and literacy –and literacy in general—through the pesantren he founded in 1930 in Sengkang, the capital city of the district of Wajo, South Sulawesi, Indonesia.

I will first briefly describe the life of As'ad, the historical development of his *madrasah* (later became a *pesantren*) and its important role in the dissemination and transmission of Islamic knowledge in Wajo in particular, and in South Sulawesi more generally. I will particularly explore various ways in

which this *pesantren*²⁸ has facilitated the using of Bugis as an instructional language in its *halaqah* and *madrasah* programs as well the maintenance of Bugis identity among its people who live in either the homeland South Sulawesi and diaspora across the archipelago.

Anrégurutta Muhammad As'ad, Pesantren As'adiyah and the Dissemination of Islamic Knowledge

As'adiyah is the name of an Islamic socio-religious institution whose *pesantren* and *madrasah* are among the oldest traditional Islamic education institutions in South Sulawesi (Pawiloy, Kamar, Rahim, Padulungi, & Idris, 1981, p. 21). It was established in 1930 in Sengkang Wajo by Muhammad As'ad al-Bugisy, who was popularly known among the Bugis people in Wajo and beyond as *Anrégurutta*²⁹ Pung Aji Sade' or just *Gurutta Sade'*.³⁰ As'ad was a young '*ulamā'* who was born in Mecca in 1907 to a devout Bugis Muslim family who had migrated to the city from the old Bugis state of Wajo in the end of the 19th century due to a social unrest instigated by a prolonged conflict among the Wajo ruling families at the time.³¹ As'ad obtained his early religious education from his father, 'Abdul Rashid al-Bugisi, who was among *Jawī 'ulamā* in Mecca. He also learned to memorize the Qur'an before he went to Madrasah Al-Falāh,

²⁸ The name 'Pesantren As'adiyah' used in this paper refers to a *pesantren* located in three main school complexes within the city area of Sengkang, which is usually identified as *As'adiyah Pusat* (Central As'adiyah). This is to distinguish it from other *pesantren* or *madrasah* established elsewhere as branches of As'adiyah in mostly eastern parts of Indonesia.

²⁹In Bugis community the term '*Anrégurutta*' has a common connotation of '*ulamā*', which is similar to *kijai* in Java, *Tuan Guru* in Lombok, *Biya* in West Sumatera, *Teuku* in Aceh, and *Guru Tua* in Central Sulawesi. Mattulada (1976, 316) writes that '*anrégurutta*' is a term of address used by the Bugis people for an '*âlim*' (pl. '*ulamā*') or a 'learned person who teaches people.' An Islamic religious teacher who is called *Anrégurutta* will be qualified as *panrita*, the Bugis term (likely derived from Sanskrit word '*pandi*' or '*pandita*', which means a 'teacher' or 'scholar' of Sanskrit language) for the traditionally learned and wise person who usually took the role as advisor to the ruler as well as to the people within the local states (See also Ahmad, 2008). Another term, *Gurutta*, is used as the term of address for religious teachers and preachers below the qualification of *Anrégurutta*. In *pesantren* environment, however, the term *gurutta* is used by students to address all their teachers regardless of their religious knowledge qualification. 'AG' is a popular abbreviation for *anrégurutta* or 'G' for *gurutta*. 'AGH' then stands for *Anregurutta Haji*. (For practical reason, in this paper I mention all Bugis '*ulamā*' by just their names without the term of address *Anrégurutta Haji* (AGH), including *Anrégurutta Haji* Muhammad As'ad. The Bugis people use the term of address 'Pung' or 'Puang' (also written as 'Fung') for a person of high social status within the community, including the noble family and the elders. Later on, as *anrégurutta* ('*ulamā*') became more and more respected as a social elite within the Bugis community and included among the noblemen, they are also addressed *Pung* or *Puang* (or *Petta* in Bone). "*Guri*" (apparently from Sanskrit) also means 'teacher' in Bugis language, plus the word 'ta' (a simplified form of the first plural possessive pronoun in Bugis which means 'our', but it might be derived from the Indonesian word '*kita*' or 'we' but not as a possessive pronoun).

³⁰ In Bugis tongue, the word As'ad is pronounced as *Sâde'* (*sa: the*) like any other Arabic names whose last letter is a consonant without any vowel immediately following it (Ar. '*sukún*'), such as Dâud (becomes *Dauðe*), Yûnus (*Yunusû*), Sulaymân (*Sulaimana*).

³¹ Before its integration into the Republic of Indonesia in 1946, Wajo was one of seven major traditional states in the present day South Sulawesi province, Indonesia, from the end of the fourteenth to the early 20th century (See Mattulada, 1998; Patunru, 1983 and).

a formal Islamic school established in Mecca by India-Muslim diasporas. Earlier biographers of As'ad (Ismail, 1989; Manguluang, 1990; Walinga, 1980) claim that at seventeen, As'ad had practically mastered most, if not all, classical branches of Islamic knowledge that were taught and transmitted in the Hijaz region. These included the Qur'anic sciences (*Ulûm al-Qur'ân*), the sciences of the prophetic tradition ('*Ulûm al-Hadîth*), principles of Islamic jurisprudence (*Usûl al-Fiqh*), various sciences of Arabic language and others.



Anrégerutta As'ad in Sengkang

In addition to his formal study in Al-Falâh, As'ad also pursued advanced Islamic knowledge by attending several *halâqah*³² that were given within al-Harâm mosque (Masjid al-Harâm) in Mecca by a number of prominent '*ulamâ'* from various nationalities. Among them were 'Umar b. Hamdân, Sa`îd al-Yamâni, Hâshim Nâzirîn, Jamâl al-Mâlikî, Hasan al-Yamâni, `Abbâs `Abd al-Jabbâr, and Ambo Wellang al-Bugisî (Ismail, 1989; Manguluang, 1990). At fourteen, As'ad had practically memorized the entire Qur'an (30 chapters) and for three consecutive years (1921-1923), he was assigned by the authority of Masjid al-Harâm to lead the *tarâwih* prayer in that most holy mosque in the Muslim world. This privileged assignment in such a young age certainly signifies recognition of As'ad's exceptional fluency and eloquence in Qur'anic recitation and memorization among the non-Arab '*ulamâ'* in Mecca.³³ In 1928, As'ad went to stay for a couple of months in Medina and studied *hadîth* with Sayyid Ahmad al-Sharîf al-Sanûsî (1873-1933), a great authority in the sciences of *hadîth*, a *muftî* in Shâfi'i school of law, and the supreme leader of the *Sanâsiyyah* Sufi Order (*tariqah*) (1902-1933) who resided until his death in that city. The *tariqah* was

³² *Halâqah* is a traditional model of learning found in many parts of the Islamic world where students sit around a teacher, listen to him and write notes while the teacher reads, translates and explains the difficult meanings of a book on Islamic knowledge written in Arabic. In Indonesian *pesantren* community this kind of book is usually called '*kitab kuning*' (lit. 'yellow book') because the color of the paper of most of such books is yellow or become yellowish as they get older. In Bugis *pesantren* communities, this kind of book is popularly known as '*kitab gondolo*' (lit. 'bald book'), as the Arabic texts in such a book are without diacritics, such as vowel marks. For a comprehensive discussion on the importance of *kitab kuning* in the Indonesian *pesantren* milieu, see Bruinessen (1995).

³³ At that time, he was probably the first and the only '*ulamâ'* with Malay origin (known as *Jâni* in Islamic literature) who had been honored with such a position (Walinga, 1980)

established in North Africa in 1837 by Sayyid Muhammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī (1787-1859), Ahmad al-Sharīf's own grand-father (Ziaudeh, 1968).

In 1928, at the age of 21, prompted with a sense of religious intention and mission and reproached by the request from a number of *hajj* pilgrims coming to Mecca from Wajo who he likely had frequently met, As'ad left his city of birth for Sengkang, his family's original home. Shortly after arrived in Sengkang he soon started teaching classical Islamic Arabic books to a small number of students by *halaqah* model of learning (in Bugis language [B.] 'mappangaji kitta,' also 'mangngaji tudang'). At first the *halaqah* was conducted in the house of his brother-in-law, Ambo Emmé, and later in his own. At the same year, As'ad also started teaching Qur'an memorization (*tahfīdh*) (B. *makkapala korang*) to a small group of interested students, first in his house and later moved to the old public (state) mosque (Masjid Jami') located near his house. The local rulers of Wajo had renovated the mosque for him in 1930.

Along with his *halaqah* and *tahfīdh* programs, in 1930 As'ad established al-Madrasah al-'Arabiyyah al-Islamiyah (lit. 'The Islamic Arabic School', popularly abbreviated as MAI). The school was founded to accommodate the fast growing number of students coming to As'ad's *halaqah*. Unlike the *halaqah*, this school used a rather modern system, despite its simple learning facilities where students were placed in different classrooms based on their age groups and levels of understanding of basic Islamic knowledge. During As'ad's lifetime, MAI consisted of only primary (*tahdiriyah* and *ibtidaiyyah*) and secondary schools (*i'dadiyyah* and *thanawiyah*) whose study durations varied from one to four years. In all levels of these *madrasah* the emphasis was given to teaching classical branches of Islamic knowledge such as Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), the principles of Islamic law (*usūl al-fiqh*), Qur'anic exegesis (*tafsīr*), the Prophetic tradition (*badīth*), principles of Islamic faith (*tanhīd*, *kalām*), ethics (*akhlāq*), *tārikh* (history of Islam), Sufism (*tasawwuf*), and Arabic language as 'ilmu alat' (tool to learn sciences) (Pasaneseng, 1992).³⁴ Only two decades later, when the *madrasah* was directed by two As'ad's most senior students, AGH Daud Ismail (1906-2006) and AGH Muhammad Yunus Martan (1908-1986), some general subjects such as mathematics and geography were added to the curriculum (Rama, 2000).

As'ad died on 2 December 1952 at the age of 45. A year later his *madrasah*, Al-Madrasah al-Arabiyyah al-Islamiyah was renamed Madrasah As'adiyah in honor of its founder.³⁵ AGH Daud Ismail (leadership period: 1952-1961) and AGH Muhammad Yunus Martan (1961-1986) continued the leadership of the *madrasah* and *pesantren*. When Yunus Martan died in 1986, Hamzah Badawi (1986-1988) completed Yunus' term of office before Abdul

³⁴ Literally means the 'knowledge of tools', which refers to the knowledge of Arabic grammar (which include mainly, but not exclusively, *nahu* or syntax and *surf* or morphology) as a tool to master religious texts written in Arabic.

³⁵ *As'adiyah* derives from the Arabic word "as'ad" (which is the last name of Muhammad As'ad), which literally means happiness, fortune, or luck. Added an adjective "iyah" (yā' al-nisbah in Arabic) then it now means the follower or the people of As'ad.

Malik Muhammad (1988-2000) was elected as a the next director or chairperson of As'adiyah in the Muktamar 1988 in Sengkang. When Abdul Malik Muhammad died in 2000, Abd. Rahman Musa (2000-2002) provided a transitional leadership of As'adiyah until 2002, when M. Rafi Yunus Martan, Ph.D. (former professor at the IAIN Alauddin of Makassar) was elected in the Muktamar of As'adiyah in 2002 to lead the *pesantren* and the foundation until today.³⁶

Despite short, As'ad life was indeed a very busy and productive one. The 24 years he spent in Sengkang were almost totally devoted to teaching, preaching, and writing. He was known as a religious preacher whose knowledge of Islam is described by his students as ocean-wide (B. *mattasi' paddissengenna*) and whose Islamic standpoint was considered moderate and eclectic.³⁷ His profound and sincere religious commitment and intention compelled him to wander in and around Wajo and beyond to preach Islam by words (A. *da'wah bi al-lisān*) in a very subtle and eloquent formal Bugis language. His students described him as a charismatic, dedicated, and passionate teacher. But he could be very rigorous and uncompromising when it comes to maintaining students' discipline in learning, ritual practices and Islamic ethic (Ar. *akhlāq*). The knowledge he directly taught could be well understood by people from a different intellectual background and was considered *mabbarakka'* (in B. 'full of God's blessing') in the sense that it cultivates immense good benefits and values.³⁸ He also wrote a number of books and short essays which were, for the most part, in Bugis,³⁹ others in Arabic and Indonesian, producing studies in various fields of Islamic knowledge, particularly *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence) (which comprises the most part of his works),⁴⁰ principles of Islamic faith

³⁶ Muhammad Rafi, the oldest son of the third director of As'adiyah, Muhammad Yunus Martan, was a professor from the Islamic State University of Makassar.

³⁷ For a detailed analysis of As'ad's religious thought, see Hamka (2009) and Sabit (2012).

³⁸ Extracted from interview notes with H. Mappeare Karumpa (80 years, Sengkang), H. Abd. Rahim Kanre (75, Sengkang), H. Abdul Latif (77, Watampone), Prof. H. Mappanganro (Makassar), and H. Abunawas Bintang (64, Sengkang).

³⁹ According to Bruinessen (1998), As'ad was probably the first Islamic author to use the Bugis (*lōntara*) rather than the Arabic script for this sort of literature, although he also wrote a number of works in Arabic. But this statement cannot be true for a significant number of works written in Bugis script by Bugis authors before As'ad were also for religious purposes, although other genres were much more popular in Bugis writing than religious one. See *Katalog Induk Naskah-naskah Nusantara: Sulawesi Selatan* (Anonym, 2003) and for an elaborate description of the process of cataloguing these texts, see Robinson (1998, pp. 1-2). In fact, as Pelras (1979) has observed from B.F. Matthes' catalogue, *Boegijnische Chrestomathie* (1975), the majority of Bugis manuscript stories are linked to Muslim tradition, such as, the stories of the prophets, episodes of the lives of Muhammad, of Amir Hamzah, of Ali and Fatimah, or Hasan and Husein, and of Muhammad Ali Hanafiyah, narratives of the dirty tricks and wise acts of Abu Nawas, and also the Alexander romance.

⁴⁰ The exact number of his works, however, is rather difficult to determine, as many of them were not well preserved. Also, many of them were burned during a great fire in 1971 that destroyed most of Sengkang, including the mosque, classrooms, the library and the house of teachers of MAI where many of As'ad's works were stored. However, his students and later scholars who write about As'ad generally agree that he wrote more than 20 works. Obviously

(*tawhîd*, *kalâm*), ethics (*akhlâq*), Sufism (*tasawwuf*), *balâghah* (rhetoric), *manthiq* (logic) and Arabic.⁴¹ His works also include polemical writings against other ‘ulamâ’ in South Sulawesi and beyond in which As’ad supported the necessity (A. *wâjib*) of using Arabic in the Friday sermon (instead of using vernacular languages as introduced by the reformist Muslim organizations such as Muhammadiyah).

Maintaining Bugis Identity and Literacy among the Bugis People in the Homeland and Diaspora

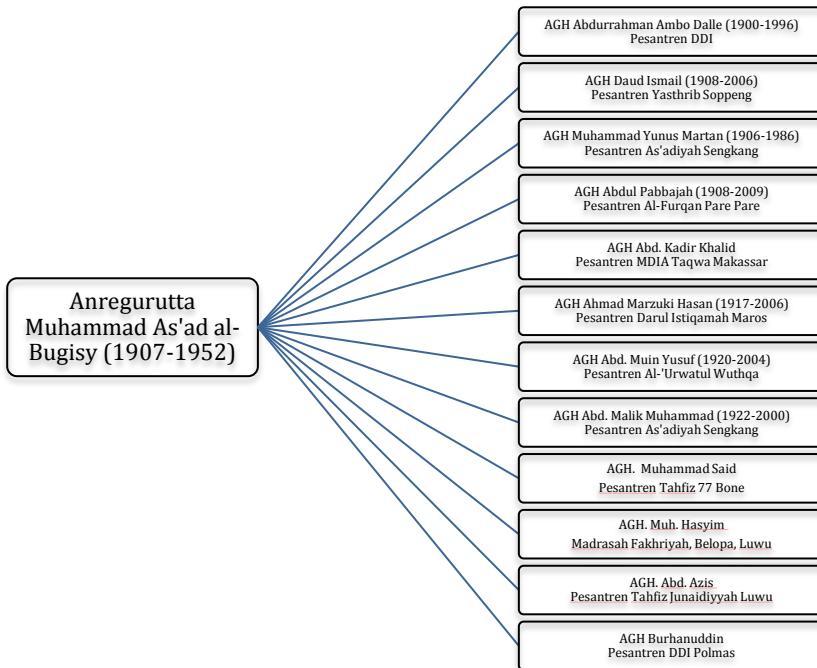
One may ask how As’ad could develop an excellent command in Bugis language which included speaking, reading and writing while he was born and grew up in Mecca until the age of 21. My informants, who include direct students of As’ad and those who had seen him delivering speeches in Bugis or attended his halaqah, testify that As’ad’s command in colloquial Bugis was extraordinarily good.⁴² According to Rahman (2012), from his learned family circle in Mecca As’ad studied not only Islamic knowledge but also Bugis language, the mother tongue of his close family. To maintain their Bugis command and cultural upbringing in diaspora, As’ad’s close family used Bugis for their daily conversation within their household. They probably conversed in Arabic only with the Arab speaking people or when they were in formal learning circumstances. Thanks to such a family environment, As’ad was able not only to fluently converse in Bugis like a native speaker but also to read and write in Bugis script (*lôntara*).⁴³ This can be confirmed by the fact that when still in Mecca As’ad had written a silsila (Ar. the chain of spiritual genealogy) and a brief teaching of the Sanusiya Sufi Order (which was popularly known in South Sulawesi as Tarekat Muhammadiyah) on a piece of paper in response to a request from a hajj pilgrim from Johor (Malaysia). As’ad wrote the silsila in a beautiful Bugis script in Muzdalifa, a small spot that is considered very sacred on the right side of the Ka’bah (Rahman, 2012).

some of these works are still preserved by teachers and students of Pesantren As’adiyah today and used as textbooks, commended or complementary texts for students in the *pesantren*. For a more detailed discussion of As’ad’s works see Muhammad Ahmad (1981/1982); Rahman (2010).

⁴¹ Initially As’ad’s works were in the form of manuscript, written by himself, especially those in Arabic and Bugis. Both his Arabic and *lôntara*’ handwriting was acknowledged among his students to be beautiful. On the other hand, most of his works in Malay/Indonesian were already typewritten. To duplicate As’ad’s works a simple stencil machine was used and later by a proper printing press in Makassar or in Surabaya (Dahlan, 2013, p. 83).

⁴² A senior ‘ulamâ’ in Sengkang told me that the only student of As’ad whose Bugis command was close to As’ad’s was Muhammad Yunus Martan (d. 1986), the third leader of Pesantren As’adiyah.

⁴³ As I shall discuss later in this paper, this three language skills do not naturally always come together in the context of Bugis language. In most cases in the contemporary Bugis community, despite born and grown up as Bugis in a Bugis speaking environment many people, especially the younger generation, can only speak but not read and write in Bugis.



Among As'ad's first students who established their own pesantren in South Sulawesi

In 1941, As'ad also started a trilingual journal or bulletin (in Bugis, Malay and Arabic) entitled *Al-Maw'izat al-Hasanah* (good advice). This religious journal, however, which was widely-distributed in South Sulawesi and East Kalimantan and brought Bugis to the cause of propagating Islam in those regions, had to suspend publication during the Japanese occupation in 1943 (Walinga, 1980). This journal published, among other things, various *fatwa* (religious edicts) issued by As'ad or later by his most senior students (see Walinga 1980: 49-58). The publication of this stenciled religious booklets was a pioneer in South Sulawesi at the time when, unlike what happened in Java, no local public publishing industry developed, nor was there a vernacular press, even though very occasionally some small brochures or books appeared (Pelras, 1979). Later, during the leadership of Muhammad Yunus Martan, As'adiyah published a monthly magazine, *Suara As'adiyah* (the voice of As'adiyah) --also in Bugis, Arabic and Indonesian-- which was later renamed *Risalah As'adiyah* (the message of As'adiyah) and lasted for about ten years.

I argue that As'ad through his *pesantren* and *madrasah* has played a fundamental role in the development of Islamic knowledge literacy in general, and Bugis literacy more specifically, among the Bugis people in Wajo and beyond. I will return below to the question of Bugis literacy today, but it is useful to outline first the extent of As'adiyah's general influence on general learning.

Until the early 20th century South Sulawesi, the teaching of Islamic knowledge was only conducted sporadically in a non-formal circumstances through a handful of private learning circles (B. *angngajing*) organized by several '*ulamā'*, usually those who held religious functions (B. *parewa sara*) within the state such as *qadhi* (B. *kali*) and *imam* (B. *imang*). This type of learning, which was held in either *musala*, mosque or the teacher's house, was very much limited to teaching Qur'an reading and basic instruction in Islamic rituals (Hamid, 1983; Mattulada, 1983). Through its mass religious education programs, As'adiyah has produced new generations of '*ulamā'*, religious teachers, religious speakers and religious officials within the Muslim community in South Sulawesi since 1930s.⁴⁴ In fact, most, if not all, important '*ulamā*' in South Sulawesi in the 20th century were students of As'ad or have studied in his *pesantren* and *madrasah* (see Table 1). These '*ulamā*', in turn, established their own *pesantren* and *madrasah* in various parts in South Sulawesi and have trained and continue to train new generations of Muslim scholars, teachers and preachers with a broad intellectual network up to the present time (Al-Bone, 1987; Arief, 2008).

There used to be a popular saying in Bugis that was often articulated by '*ulamā*' in South Sulawesi that '*Dé'gaga tau ri Sulawési missengngi agamaé ko dé napolé mangaji ki Anrégyurutta Aji Sade*' (No one knows the [Islamic] religion unless he has come to learn it from Anregurutta Muhammad As'ad). Also, '*Dé'gagatu topanrita koméyé, panrita-panrita mariolöé, sangadinna polé maneng mangaji ri Anrégyurutta Aji Sade*' (No '*ulamā*' here, the elder ones, except they have all gone to study with Anregurutta Muhammad As'ad).⁴⁵ This suggests that As'ad had established himself as the most authoritative '*ulamā*' in the province in the last century. Indeed, most subsequent influential '*ulamā*' in the region developed their religious authority mainly through either their direct personal teacher-student relationship with As'ad or by attending his *pesantren* and *madrasah* and studied under As'ad's first generation of student (Arief, 2008).

I also argue that for more than five decades since its establishment, As'adiyah could manifest itself as the most important learning center of traditional Islamic knowledge in South Sulawesi and the surrounding regions. Muhammad Yunus Martan has even described MAI at the time as the "Islamic Centre" (Pusat Islam) in South Sulawesi whereas the city of Sengkang had become "*Ka'batul 'ilmī*" (lit. the Ka'bah of knowledge, allegorically meaning the

⁴⁴ Religious officials (B. *paréwa sara*) in the local Bugis states era (from its structural Islamisation in the 17th to the mid-20th centuries) were in charge of conducting Islamic rituals and festivals either in the mosques (mosque officials) or outside such as *Qâdhi* (the highest religious authority and official within the state), *imám* (prayer leader), *khâtib* (preacher in Jum'at prayer), *bîlî* (the person who calls for the prayer), and *modîn* (B. *dôja*) (the person in charge of mosque wellbeing) (see Bosra 2008). Following Independence, religious affairs, from state to sub district levels are managed by the Ministry of Religious Affairs (Kementerian Agama) through its provincial, district and sub district office levels.

⁴⁵ Interview with Abunawas Bintang, one of the most senior teachers, leaders and '*ulamā*' in Pesantren As'adiyah, in Sengkang, in mid May 2014. He said to me that he heard the sayings from Abdul Pabbajah (1908-2009), a student of As'ad who later established his own *pesantren*, Al-Furqan, in Pare-pare.

center of knowledge, just like the Ka'bah [‘the Cube’] within al-Haram mosque as the center to which direction the Muslims face in their prayers) (Pawiloy et al., 1981, 103). As’adiyah later also expanded as a social and religious organization or institution whose outreach programs encompassed many life aspects of the Muslim community in Wajo, South Sulawesi and beyond (Anonym, 1982).⁴⁶

During the leadership of Yunus Martan As’adiyah (in its headquarter in Sengkang) also operated general schools programs like public or state-run schools in different levels from kindergarten to senior high as well as a college for Islamic studies. The curriculum in these schools comprises 60 per cent Islamic subjects and 40 per cent general subjects (Rama, 2000, pp. 124-125). Starting in 13 September 1968, As’adiyah also operated a radio station called ‘Radio Suara As’adiyah’ (the voice of As’adiyah) to expand the scope of its Islamic teaching and *dakwah* program as well as to facilitate other public and government information services. Since early 1990s As’adiyah has established a number of other socio-economic programs, including an Islamic micro finance called ‘BMT (*Baitul Mál wat Tamwīl*) As’adiyah’ (See Table 2).

Alumni of As’adiyah have widely spread across the country. Many of them have occupied important positions in the government and non-government institutions at local, provincial and national levels. In his study in early 1970s, Kanre (1975, pp. 66-71) lists 100 alumni of Madrasah As’adiyah who have become ‘Ulama and Islamic Figures’ (*Ulama dan Tokoh-tokoh Islam*) at local, provincial and national levels.⁴⁷ The most notable of them includes the founders and leaders of *pesantren* across South Sulawesi as described in Table 1. Also included in the list are alumni who have had a high political career at national and local levels. What we cannot not find in Kanre’s list as well as in that of subsequent scholars working on As’adiyah (Nawir, 2000, pp. 94-100; Safa, 1971) is the names of alumni of As’adiyah who become *imám* at village (*imam desa*) and hamlet (*imam kampung*) levels. In fact, as Arief (2008, p. 144) has observed, *imam kampung* in many places in the districts of Wajo, Bone, Soppeng, Sidrap, Barru and Pinrang are alumni of As’adiyah. Although their religious authority is considered far below that of *Anrgurutta (kiyai)* who lead a *pesantren*, *imam kampung* are generally regarded as local religious leaders whose major role is more limited to lead congregational prayers in the mosques and other religious ceremonies at village level. Arief (2008, pp. 143-144) further argues that, in contemporary South Sulawesi context, *imam kampung* play also a substantial role in the transmission of religious message and teaching to the people in grassroots level. They become ‘*jembatan pengetahuan*’ (Lit. ‘The bridge

⁴⁶ The name As’adiyah in this study, therefore, refers to the status of this institution in a broader context, that is, as a socio-religious organization or foundation, while Pesantren As’adiyah indicates a reference to one of its religious education programs.

⁴⁷ To my knowledge, this is the earliest existing work on As’adiyah that mentioned a rather comprehensive list of the earliest groups of alumni of As’adiyah. Subsequent works on As’adiyah that also list prominent alumni of the institution include Anonym (1982) which lists 160 alumni, Haritsah (1981) 64 and Nawir (2000, pp. 94-100) 147.

of knowledge') between *pesantren* and *orang awam* ('common people', Ar. *al-'awwām*) who could not have an opportunity for *pesantren* study.⁴⁸



Students of Madrasah As'adiyah in the 1950s

In South Sulawesi context, however, the most important socio-religious contribution of As'adiyah can be measured by looking at its seminal role in advocating, reinvigorating and preserving religious learning by using both traditional and modern/classical system among students of different socio-economic backgrounds coming mostly from rural areas within and beyond Wajo.

The significant of As'ad's influence in changing the Muslim community in Wajo can be seen in the statement of the last Arung Matoa (Chief Lord) of Wajo, Haji Andi Mangkona (ruled 1933-1949) that '*Aji Sade' mana pasellengngi to Wajo'* (It was As'ad who has indeed made the Wajo people become Muslim).⁴⁹ Whether this statement can be confirmed or not, but this implies that despite the Wajo people have nominally or officially been Muslim since the early 17th century only after As'ad started to preach and teach Islam in its comprehensive aspects and dimensions could the Wajo people understand and practice Islam according to its normative teachings contained in its most sacred texts.

Viewed from a broader perspective, through his *madrasah* As'ad had effectually introduced, disseminated, and maintained a new standard for normative Islamic practice and piety (or Islamic orthodoxy) in the region, one which is scrupulously rooted in the rich textual tradition of Islam. Moreover, as the anthropologist of Bugis, Pelras (1985, p. 234) remarks with regard to the impact of religious teaching institutions such as As'adiyah and Muhammadiyah in South Sulawesi on local socio-religious structures, As'adiyah has contributed to the "lessening the religious role of the ruling aristocracy and undermining the pre-Islamic basis on which its power rested."

⁴⁸ In *pesantren* community, the person who becomes a formal student of a *halaqah* within a *pesantren* is called *muta'allim* (Ar. 'student' or 'learner', or 'santri' in Ind., plural: *muta'allimín*). His participation in the *halaqah* sessions is on a regular basis with an obligation to read and translate the same Arabic textbooks (In. *kitab kuning*, B. *kitta' gondolo*) used by the *halaqah* teacher. While the person who just attends the *halaqah* on an occasional basis and without having to read and translate the textbooks is called *mustami'* (Ar. 'listener', plural: *mustami'ín*) (in Bugis, *maséma*). Those who fall in this type of participant category is still considered part of the *pesantren* milieu but they are, as Millie (2008) terms it, a 'non-specialists' in the *pesantren*.

⁴⁹ I was told about this statement by the late Ali Pawellangi, one of the most senior As'adiyah teacher and '*ulamá'* during my interview with him in Sengkang in mid-August 2012.

Bugis as an Identity and Lingua Franca among Pesantren As'adiyah Community

For most students and alumni of As'adiyah's educational institutions (*madrasah*, Islamic college, *tahfidh*, and '*ulama'* reproduction training or *Ma'abah Ḵāfiyah*) As'adiyah not only symbolizes the name of an alma mater but also exemplifies a religious affiliation and ideology, or what I would call 'a local Islamic identity'. Besides having a shared learning experience in their alma mater, the alumni of As'adiyah can also easily identify each other by looking at the way they perform Islamic practices typical to the followers of *ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jamā'ah* (the followers of the Prophet and '*ulama'* tradition). During my one-year fieldwork research in 2012 in Sengkang,⁵⁰ I often heard people in their daily conversation or in formal religious gatherings said (in B.) '*Idi' taunna As'adiyah*' (I. 'Kita orang As'adiyah') ('We are As'adiyah people') to point to their shared identity as alumni or the people who have an ideological relationship with As'adiyah. This sort of 'ideological affiliation' is formed either through an intimate personal experience as a student of Madrasah As'adiyah or collegial attachment with As'adiyah as an Islamic social organization by becoming its member.

Not least important, however, is that the name As'adiyah can also represent a sense of Bugisness among its alumni. In other words, As'adiyah has become identical with Bugisness due to several factors that I will discuss later in this paper. Bugis is the name of the largest ethnic group in South Sulawesi who occupy the central part of the peninsula. They have their own language which is still spoken by those who live either in the Bugis land in South Sulawesi or in diaspora. The language is also written in a distinctive traditional script called *lōntara*⁵¹. Written Bugis, however, has become rarely used in both formal and non-formal occasions as well as for scholarly purposes. The Bugis people, especially the younger generation, normally write in Indonesian (*Bahasa Indonesia*), the national official language. In most Bugis areas, only the elders who will occasionally use *lōntara*, for example, to write letter or take note of their business enterprise.

In general, most young Bugis generation can no longer read *lōntara*, let alone the texts written in colloquial style using old Bugis terms or vocabularies. This can partly be attributed to the fact that, for decades, Bugis has not been a mandatory subject in public school's curriculum in the Bugis speaking regions in South Sulawesi except as part of the local content of the curriculum. Because it is not considered an important subject within the whole structure of the national curriculum — I compared to core study subjects such as general

⁵⁰ For an elaborate description of my experience as a 'local' or 'indigenous' ethnographer when undertaking a one-year ethnographic field research in Sengkang in 2012 together with its challenges and opportunities, see Halim (2012).

⁵¹ The word is derived from the Malay and Javanese word *lontar*, meaning palm leaf, the Bugis equivalent would be *raung ta'*, as the earliest Bugis texts were inscribed on palm leaves then sewn together end to end, and rolled up to form flat cylinders. See Pelras (1979, pp. 274-275).

sciences and mathematics-- students rarely strive to achieve a good command in Bugis language skills. Certainly Bugis children can still speak Bugis in their daily interaction with their peers or parents because they have grown up within the Bugis family or milieu. They may not, however, be able to fully understand their elders who occasionally speak colloquial Bugis or the *khâṭib* (B. *katté*) who gives his sermon for congregational Friday prayer in Bugis as is the case in most mosques in the Bugis rural areas.

The environment within the educational institutions run by As'adiyah is an exception. Here Bugis language becomes an indispensable tool of learning. Students of As'adiyah not only study the Bugis language as an important part of their school curriculum but also use it on a daily basis in its four practical skills: listening (comprehension), speaking, writing and reading.

In the *halaqah* learning sessions, which is mandatory for all students in junior and senior high levels in Madrasah As'adiyah in Sengkang, Bugis is the main language of instruction. *Halaqah* is taught every day (except on Thursday night and Friday morning) in the school mosques within the *pesantren* complex after every congregational evening (*maghrib*) and dawn (*subh*) prayer (which all students are obliged to attend). Each *halaqah* session lasts for about half an hour. In *halaqah* teaching students listen and write the Bugis translation, in *lôntara'*, in the margin or between the lines of the Arabic text of the book which is read, translated and explained by the teacher. Even in formal learning setting in *madrasah* As'adiyah, teachers very frequently use Bugis as the language of instruction, interchangeably with Indonesian.



A *halaqah* session in Pesantren As'adiyah

As for speaking skill, since the majority of students and teachers in Madrasa As'adiyah are Bugis or come from a Bugis family background, Bugis is the language of conversation within the school complex. In most cases, however, a person who speaks everyday Bugis is not able to deliver a formal speech in the language. Here we can see the importance of Bugis speech training and practice within all educational institutions of As'adiyah. At junior high school (*thanawiyah*), for example, every student has to deliver religious speeches before, at least, his peers and teachers in Bugis. Students will have many opportunities during their school years to do this speech practice (Ind. *latihan dakwah*) as part of the school's extra-curricular program. There are many occasions where speech practice is performed during and after school but the most regular one is after the performance of congregational five-time daily prayers in the school mosque during the weekdays. These speeches are known as seven minutes speeches (Ind. '*kuliah tujuh menit*' or *kultum*).

During my fieldwork I frequently attended the speech practice performance by junior high school students in the main complex of *pesantren* and madrasah of As'adiyah in Lapongkoda Sengkang. I was amazed not so much by the students' high confidence and enthusiasm in delivering a speech to a relatively large public (of around 400 to 600 students and teachers) but by the well-structured and formal Bugis they used which even I, being born and grown up within a Bugis family, could not better. Delivering speech in Bugis is not just a matter of having rhetorical skills, which students normally can develop through their speech practice sessions mentioned earlier. It also requires a good mastery of Bugis grammar and vocabulary which cannot be automatically obtained from day-to-day speaking circumstances.

Students coming from the non-Bugis speaking family or non-Bugis cultural milieu have to learn the language, at least in their first years in *pesantren* and *madrasah* of As'adiyah. It should be noted that ever since its operation, Pesantren As'adiyah has admitted students from many places in and around Wajo and even from provinces outside South Sulawesi, such as East Kalimantan, Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, Moluccas, Papua and Sumatera. Most of these students, however, are the children of Bugis families in diaspora. As observed by Lineton (1975) and others (See Bakti, 2010), among the Bugis people in South Sulawesi, the Wajo people are the most willing to migrate to many parts of the archipelago.

As Lineton (1975) further observes, the waves of emigration of Bugis people to many parts of the Malay world are driven by at least three major factors. First, there were frequent political unrests in South Sulawesi before and shortly after Indonesian independence.⁵² Secondly, the Bugis 'outward movement' is triggered by the quest for better economic condition in diaspora. Many Bugis people have succeeded economically in their new settlements in the distant places such as Papua, Jambi and Riau in Sumatera, East Kalimantan, Moluccas, Central and Southeast Sulawesi, even in Malay peninsula (Bakti, 2010). Finally, "the nobility's monopoly of political power is also seen as a factor encouraging the migration of ambitious [Bugis] individuals" (Lineton, 1975, p. ii).

As Pelras (1985) asserts, the Bugis and Makassar Muslim people are commonly considered '*fanatik*' Muslims in the sense that they firmly hold their religious belief as the most meaningful thing in their life. Like their close relatives in the homeland, Bugis in the diaspora are also generally devout Muslims (Ind. *taat beragama*) who would preserved their Islamic identity and practice wherever they live. Bugis migrants are also well-known for their

⁵² For example, many Bugis and Makassar people, particularly from Wajo and Gowa had left South Sulawesi for different parts of the archipelago after the defeat of the Makassar state of Gowa in 1669 by the Dutch, the closest ally of the Bugis state of Wajo, before the Indonesian independence in 1945 (Andaya, 1981). A significant number of Bugis also spontaneous moved to East Kalimantan, due to several decades of socio-political chaos in South Sulawesi during the Darul Islam (DI) rebellious movement led by Abdul Kahhar Muzakkar between 1955 and 1965 (Sahur, 2010).

accommodating character towards their fellow Bugis in diaspora, be they their close families or not, particularly among those who become the pioneers in starting the chain of Bugis migration to new areas. When a new settlement has been opened, the Bugis Muslim migrants would normally establish a house of worship (Ar. *musalla*, Ind. *musola*) or a mosque when enough members of the *musola* make it eligible for the performance of a congregational Friday prayer. After the Independence, many of these Bugis diasporas from Wajo and Bone were alumni of As'adiyah and became the pioneers in the establishment of a mosque or a *musola* as well as providing the first permanent *imam* and *khatib*.

Among the Islamic academic circles in South Sulawesi, and in eastern Indonesia more generally, such as lecturers and students in the (state) Islamic higher education institutions (IAIN, UIN, STAIN, UMI), alumni of As'adiyah (beside those of Pesantren Darul Dakwah wa al-Irsyad or DDI) have long been recognized for their general good command in Arabic, at least in reading. But what is rarely known is their generally excellent command of Bugis, which includes practically all aspects of the language: reading, speaking and writing. In Wajo in particular, students and alumni of As'adiyah have been well known for the ability to give religious speeches in fluent and formal Bugis. It is not surprising if the mosque communities (*jama'ah masjid*) in rural areas would prefer students or alumni of As'adiyah to deliver religious sermons and speeches in their mosques as they can only understand or prefer to listen to the speeches given in Bugis instead of in Indonesian. In other words, for many decades, Pesantren As'adiyah has provided a supporting environment for many students, Bugis and non-Bugis alike, to learn Bugis language in more natural and practical ways. Some cultural observers and scholars have even credited As'adiyah for preserving the use of Bugis language in educational institution and maintaining the tradition of reading texts in *lontara*. Of course, it should be added that in later periods, As'adiyah is not the only *pesantren* in which Bugis is used as the language of instruction in *halqah* and preaching practice. Newer *pesantren* such as DDI in Barru, Pare-pare and Pinrang, Yastrib in Soppeng, and al-Urwatul Wustqa in Sidrap, that were established by the students of As'ad, also use Bugis in their religious learning programs and, hence, have help perpetuate Bugis literacy among students in those *pesantren*.

The Bugis language factor is also another important reason for many Bugis families in diaspora to send their children to study in *pesantren* and *madrasah* of As'adiyah in the homeland even though religious schools might have also been established in the their regions. In my interviews with a handful of parents and carers of As'adiyah students I obtained a sense that one of their expectations is that after spending three to six years in Pesantren As'adiyah their children will be able eventually to speak, read, and write in Bugis like their parents. These practical Bugis language skills have become more and more difficult to develop especially by people in diaspora where other ethnic groups speak different vernaculars and where Indonesian may be preferred. In fact, many of the non-Bugis speaking students, be they from non-Bugis family

coming from the neighboring Makassar and Mandar regions or from Bugis families living in diaspora, can eventually speak, write and read Bugis very well. In most cases, they can even speak Bugis much better than children from Bugis families and environment who have never learned to speak and write Bugis in a formal setting.

But there is another reason among the Bugis in diaspora for sending their children back to Sengkang beyond merely acquiring the language. ‘Bugisness’ is a cultural identity and most Bugis people seek to preserve and strengthen this identity wherever and whenever they are and try to inculcate it in their children. Therefore, for the Bugis in diaspora, sending their children back to Sengkang at a very young ages (between 12 and 15 years) also means sending them back to their cultural root and inculcating the Bugis sense of identity.

In fact, over the long period – up to 12 years—which these students spend in As’adiyah, they are not restricted to classroom or their modest dormitories, but they are also exposed to Bugis people and to their customs, culture and land. An example of exposure to a broader context of Bugis culture and land example is when they are assigned to become *mubalig* (religious preacher) and *imam tarawih* (Tarawih prayer leader) during the fasting month of Ramadan. Students of As’adiyah, especially those already in grade 9 (class 3 in junior high level), are eligible to be appointed as religious preachers (*Tim Mubalig Ramadan*) or *imam tarawih*. Due to this assignment, students are able to travel to different places in South Sulawesi and beyond where there are Bugis Muslim diasporas. (I shall explain this annual program of As’adiyah in the next part of this paper). In addition, Bugis cultural events and festivals are frequently performed in Sengkang and the surrounding area and these students always have the opportunity to watch or even participate in them.

In many cases, after finishing their studies in As’adiyah in Sengkang, students coming from Bugis families in diaspora or anywhere outside Sengkang return to their parent’s house. They may become religious teachers and preachers, establish a new school, or just help their parents while taking advantage of their knowledge of Islam to teach and preach Islam in their home villages. During his life, the third director of As’adiyah, Muhammad Yunus Martan, always encouraged or even commanded his students coming from the areas outside Wajo to return to their villages or towns after finishing their studies in As’adiyah to establish a branch *madrasah* of As’adiyah. Some of them had successfully established a *madrasah* in their home villages and became well-respected religious teachers and preachers or even ‘*ulamā*’ in their own rights.

Pasanreseng (1992) notes that in early 1990s within the Wajo district alone there were 142 branches of Madrasah As’adiyah consisting of 10 kindergartens, 4 primary schools, 10 junior high *madrasah* (*thanawiyah*), 1 senior high *madrasah* (*aliyah*), and 117 primary *madrasah* (*ibtidaiyah*). During this period, branches of *madrasah* of As’adiyah outside Wajo were to be found in other districts in South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, Riau, Jambi, Maluku and Papua. Based on data in 1989,

Pasanreseng (1992) asserts that in this period there were about 29.000 of students enrolled in Madrasah As'adiyah which included more than 328 branches in seven provinces, from kindergarten to junior high school levels.

The vast network of alumni of As'adiyah across the country, particularly in the eastern part of Indonesia, has also enabled *madrasa* and *pesantren* As'adiyah in Sengkang to maintain a stable flow of incoming students each year. Unlike many newer private religious-based education institutions in South Sulawesi and other places across the country, As'adiyah in Sengkang does not seem to be very much concerned with how to make creative efforts to promote its *pesantren* and *madrasah* on a regular basis, for example through various means of advertisement. This is because for several decades the alumni of As'adiyah have become the most effective means of promotion. This includes those who have become *imam kampong* in many places in and beyond South Sulawesi (Arief, 2008, p. 144).

The promotion of As'adiyah by its alumni can take various means. Firstly, in most cases, having experienced the great benefit of studying in As'adiyah, the alumni of As'adiyah would send their children or recommend their close relatives to study in the same *madrasah*. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, each year As'adiyah sends its students and teachers as preachers and *imam* to many different places across the country, particularly in its eastern part. This allows both parents and children in those places to witness and measure the quality and competence of As'adiyah's students and teachers, particularly in terms of their mastery of Islamic knowledge and their Qur'anic memorization and recitation. This, in turn, inspires parents to send their children to study in *pesantren* and *madrasah* of As'adiyah in Sengkang (As'adiyah Pusat). In my interviews with many students from the areas outside Sengkang, I always told that the most important reasons for coming to As'adiyah Pusat were because they were astonished by the performance of young preachers and *imam* from As'adiyah or close relatives were alumni of As'adiyah and chose the madrasah for them or because their parents wanted their children to be like the students assigned as preachers or *imam tarawih* during the month of Ramadan.

The sending of preachers to many places, mainly to the eastern parts of Indonesia, has been a tradition of As'adiyah ever since it was established in 1930 until today. As mentioned earlier, since his early months in Sengkang, As'ad had been active as a wandering preacher in and around Wajo. He later formed a corps of preachers (*korps muballig*) whose members were among his first students and teaching assistants. As'ad had given a special training in religious knowledge as well as practical skills to enable his students to carry out a more effective *dakwah* to Wajo Muslim people who, at that time, he considered had gone far astray from the true teaching of Islam (See Bisfain, 1984; Sabit, 2012). As'adiyah continues this tradition until today but the target community has been expanded to many more distant places outside South Sulawesi and it becomes more intensified and extensive during the month of Ramadan. In Ramadan 2013, for example, As'adiyah sent about 700 preachers (consisting of students, teachers and leaders of As'adiyah) to various places in

South Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, Central Sulawesi, East Kalimantan, Riau, Papua and West Papua. As mentioned earlier, the mosque communities who become the hosts for religious preachers from As'adiyah are mostly Bugis diaspora and, therefore, their speeches are delivered in Bugis.

As mentioned earlier, besides becoming religious preachers, students if eligible can also be assigned as *imam tarawih*, that is, the person who leads the *tarawih* prayer, a recommended (*sunnat*) prayer performed in the mosque during the month of Ramadan. Usually in tandem with the preachers, every Ramadan As'adiyah also sends hundreds of students from its *tahfidh al-Qur'an* training programs to become *imam tarawih* to the places mentioned earlier. In many cases, these *imam* go along with the teachers and students from As'adiyah who serve as preachers at the same or nearby places. Similar to the process of assigning Ramadan preachers, the assignment of *imam tarawih* is based upon the request from the mosque community that has the alumni network or relationship with As'adiyah. I should add here that *tahfidh* programs of As'adiyah have also trained and provided many alumni who serve as *imam rawatib* (permanent mosque *imam*) in most *masjid raya* (great mosques) or *masjid agung* (grand mosque) in South Sulawesi and other Indonesian cities, including Jakarta (the Istiqlal state mosque and the Mahkamah Agung official mosque). In this case, the network of As'adiyah alumni plays a vital role in maintaining the cooperation and interconnection between the Bugis Muslim communities in diaspora and the Pesantren As'adiyah community in Sengkang (leaders, teachers and students), not only in the strengthening religious piety among the Bugis Muslim diaspora but also the sense and identity of being Bugis.

Conclusion

Since its establishment in early decades of the 20th century, As'adiyah has played a pivotal role in the dissemination and spread of Islamic knowledge and reform among the Bugis Muslim people in Wajo in particular and in South Sulawesi more generally. There are two fields in which this particular role of As'adiyah can be clearly observed.

Firstly, in the field of Islamic education, As'adiyah with its *pesantren* and hundreds of *madrasah*, in which great emphasis is given to the different branches of classical Islamic knowledge, has been influential in producing new generation of Muslims scholars ('*ulamā'*) in South Sulawesi. Most if not all of the most influential '*ulamā'* in South Sulawesi in the 20th century have been students of As'ad or graduates of *pesantren* and *madrasah* of As'adiyah.

Secondly, As'adiyah has played a crucial role in the formation of an identity, which is both Islamic –it is *the abl al-sunnah wa al-jamā'ab*— and Bugis. This double identity is disseminated and maintained in various ways. Firstly, classical Islamic knowledge is taught using text books written in Arabic. Secondly, however, the use of Bugis as the language of instruction in class-rooms as well as in explaining and translating the Islamic text books written in Arabic in *halaqah* learning sessions promotes the language and ensures Bugis literacy. Lastly, the vast outreach of As'adiyah *dakwah* programs (*tim mubalig*

Ramadan and *imam tarawil*) which encompasses most regions in eastern part of Indonesia links As'adiyah directly to the Bugis diaspora.

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BUGIS-MAKASSAR CULTURE AND ISLAMIC ACCULTURATION IN THE MOSLEM'S BUILDING OF TALLO VILLAGE

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Abstract: *The face of Islamic Archipelago has a long track record in the history. One of them was the twin kingdom of Gowa-Tallo that embraced and made Islam as the "official religion" in 1605. Since then, the dialogue between the universal Islamic ideas and locality-temporal of cultural tradition of Bugis-Makassar was intensely continued. The Moslems' Tallo village in Tallo sub district, Tallo District has been moslems' village since 1605 AD with a population of 8.017 consisting of 3.898 men and 4.119 women. The number of pre-prosperous family in Tallo sub district is 1.043, 100% are Moslems. Bugis-Islam culture acculturations are displayed in many aspects, especially in architecture. The different thing from the other villages is that Tallo society still maintains their cultures and customs. The philosophy which has been preserved there is Mappaenre' bola or building the house which is a strong connection between the local tradition and the Islamic value. The pattern of Moslem's settlement in Tallo has a linear characteristic and spreads following the road network. The village architecture and Moslem's house of Tallo clearly seems as the encounter of Bugis-Makassar culture and Islam, especially in the building of pillars, roof, doors, and windows.*

Keywords: Acculturation, Bugis-Makassar culture, world view, Moslems' village

A. Introduction

The pattern of Moslem's settlement in Tallo which covers the area location, architecture philosophy, concept, and cosmos space order of traditional house shows a special and typical worldview, the result of the bond between Bugis-Makassar tradition and universal Islamic ideas.

1. The Religiosity Value and Region Location

Tallo is a village which has high historical value, due to being the first place to convert to Islam. That is why, the Islamic insight strongly influences on the cosmology affairs and their house architecture building. Tallo is located

in the coastal areas of Makassar, so it is no wonder why the majority community livelihood as fishermen from the past until now. Along with the time being, this area becomes the warehousing area and industrial factory, so some of its societies are also as factory workers for their livelihood.

Most of its people still use the traditional house of Bugis-Makassar. It is classified as slum settlement in Makassar city so its area distribution is irregular formed the linear pattern following the street.

2. The philosophy of Bugis-Makassar

a. Bugis-Makassar perspectives about a house

Buginese-Makassarese perspectives about a house is influenced with cosmology concept entails; cosmos structures, cosmos patterns, and social stratification.

- 1) Cosmos structures: they are divided into three levels, upper nature called as *bottinglangi'* (he top of sky) as a holy place of Dewata SeuwaE (the only god) dwells; middle nature called as *paratiwi* where bad and good life occur; and the lower nature namely *uri'liu* as a dark place. Furthermore the traditional Bugis-Makassar house buildings are built on the poles (stilt house) consisting of those three items as cosmos divisions as follows:
 - a) *Rakkeang* (Bugis language) or *parapara* (Makassar language), the upper house is shown on the roof (as an attic). This part is usually used to store grains and any other food supplies. Likewise the special parts are provided as places to keep family heirlooms that are considered to be holy and sacred and for the looms as well.
 - b) *Ale bola* or *watangpola* (Bugis language) and *kale balla'* (Makassar language), is rooms which consists of specific rooms for the people to live, to do their activities, for instance the living room, the bedroom, the dining room and the kitchen.
 - c) *Avasao* or *awa bola* (Bugis language) and *siring* (Makassar language), is the lower part or under the stilt house, which is used to store farming tools, chicken coop, goats or the other livestock, or agriculture tools for farmers or fishing equipment for fishermen family.

The divisions are also found in ancient buildings in Indonesia such as temples and graveyards.

- 2) **Cosmos patterns:** Bugisnese-Makassarnese believes that this nature is square. This square concept dominantly affects Bugisnese-Makassarnese ways of life, which has become the philosophy and views of life namely *sulappa eppa* (Bugis language) or *sulapa appaka* (Makassar language) that is life balance measurement. In this context, Prof. Mr. Andi Zainal Abidin Farid (1969) stated that the view of life of Bugisnese-Makassarnese shows their efforts to enhance themselves taught hereditary orally.

3) **Social stratification** in the structure of Bugis-Makassar society is influenced with cosmos knowledge. They think that Batara Guru is the son of god yang who was descended from the sky to the earth to arrange life. The he was married to his first cousin, We Nyili'timo from the lower nature (*uri'liu*, Toddang toja – under the water). The belief of those two distinctions cause the social stratification which are arranged into three levels as follows:

- *Anakarung* or *ana'karaeng*, is the social layer of the noble men.
- *Tomaradeka*, is the social layer of most of people in the society.
- The social layer which are known as *ata* (the lowest level). Mattualada (1985) stated that *ata* cannot be inferred as the slaves, because the connotation terminology includes in exploitation system of human power for economic and political affairs. While the connotation meaning of *ata* is the labor who devotes himself or herself to an institution or someone because he or she realizes that he or she has broken the rule, in debt or lost in the war in which it is redeemed with devotion or let him or her free.

The type of building house for every social stratification is different one another. The house building of the lowest social level may not be the same with the upper social level's house. Breaking the rule means breaking the cosmos regulations and it will cause disaster for the violators.

b. Islamic Cosmology

One of the Islamic cosmology perspectives can be parsed in the tradition scale of *philosophia perennis*, an ancient wisdom which presupposes the primordial man as the *pontifex* or "bridge" between the sky-world and the earth-world. Therefore, in the perspective of *philosophia perennis*, man lives in two worlds: the "origin" and "center" as well. Throughout his life, the primordial man lives in a cyclical and keeps trying to reach the center of self-consciousness. Here, a *pontifex* person lives in a consciousness of infinitum (infinity reality) that makes him beyond the area of "the world."

This lately, the *perennialist* is more vigorous digging and reintroducing the concept of primordial-being as an alternative solution to the modern human crisis. Therefore, one of the most serious crises faced by modern humans that they have lost the true meaning and life purpose. "Modern humans have burnt their hands with the fire that they fire by themselves," wrote a wise guy, "Because the failed to find their authentic selves." However, it does not mean that the modern humans have lost their horizon, but it is rather that modern humans in *perennial* perspective, "they have been bounced to the outermost of their existence circle." The modern humans see everything "just" from the viewpoint of the existence periphery rather than from their spirituality central.

Modernity Perspective tends to assume the human as the "creation of this world-earth" (a creature of this world). Therefore, he/she can endure to

stay on the Earth with his/her own artificial view, charming, and lead to: rejecting the God and spiritual reality in his/her consciousness. Presumably, the *logiko-positivism*, as the crossbar of the modern civilization, has successfully confirmed the man as a human-earth and tore the veil of the holy sky. The beginning and end of modern civilization is the material: the world is unwilling to discuss the meaning, ontology, metaphysics, and spiritual that in fact it has been blamed as the runaway of the lost humans. But, later, modern humans were besieged by various anxieties. They missed the "Holy" and gathered it in the 1001 ways to dispel their depression by reading psychology novels, X-Files, until the pseudo mystical practices. The phenomena are viewed by the enthusiasts of religious studies and philosophy as a 'New Age' that characterizes modern humans toward the world spirituality.

Indeed, the human awareness to always cleanse his/her spiritual finally can bear a strong motion instinct "return to the origin". In the book of 'Knowledge and Sacred' (1992), Seyyed Hossein Nasr states that the awareness to "return to the origin" is not only in humans but the entire cosmic. Cosmic instinct to "return to the origin" to the Lord causes the cyclical motion like *tawaf*. The whole cosmic move cyclically: moon goes around the earth, the earth orbits the sun, the sun circulates around the galaxy, and the galaxy circles a set of the bigger galaxies, and so on. The cyclical movement "centered-circular" and "bump-clockwise" finally arrives at the center of "Awareness of the existence" that in the theology is known as the God. Here, the sublime message of Islamic tradition: *Inna lillahi wa inna ilaihi raji'un*, "Surely we all come from the God, and to Him we are "back," increasingly finds its foundation.

The above acknowledgement implies the existence of the cosmic hierarchy (the levels of reality) and human (the levels of selfhood) that ontologically relates to each other. Huston Smith describes the relationship in 'The Forgotten Truth' (1992), by presenting the following illustration:

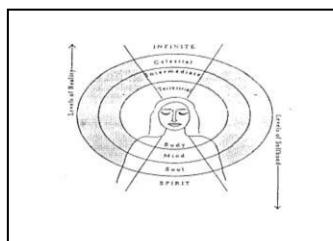


Figure 1: The Hierarchy of existence, (E.F. Schumacker, 1992)
Meanwhile, E.F. Schumacker calls that illustration as the hierarchy of existence: from the Infinitum God to humans and creatures/ objects "under" humans or vice versa: from inanimate objects (terrestrial) in the 'lowest' level to the Supreme and Infinitum God in the highest level.

From this perspective then was born the doctrine of "cosmic brotherhood" between the universal (macrocosmic) and human (microcosmic)

that in the order gave birth to "compound" ontological chemistry between them: the earth (terrestrial) compounds the body; the horizon (intermediate) with the mind (mind); sky (celestial) with spirit (soul), and "the Infinitum" fused with *ruh* (spirit) or human *Hafidh*.

Human-spirit or *Hafidh* is self-authentic that is ontologically immersed in the Ocean of His Supreme Light: all behavior, thought, and His words reflect the authenticity, brightness, peace, and salvation, because the whole existence is the "reflection" of the God. In other words: the human-soul is "divine image" (*imago dei*) on the earth. He is the *pontifex* human; the human that faithfully tied his/her heart "to the sky" while carrying strong awareness: that he undoubtedly will "return" because on his feet, "in the earth," facing the pinch of the mandate that must be fulfilled. This cosmological insight, later greatly influences the architectural idea of Islamic culture, including the conception of "spatial cosmos" of Bugis-Makassar house.

c. The Procedures for the Establishment and Occupy New House

Establishing a house is commonly called as *mappatettong bola* (Bugis) or *mappaenteng balla'* (Makassar). When building a house, Buginese-Macassarese really consider about three things, namely: (1) a site to build, (2) good facing direction (3) determining where to put the central pillar (*sokoguru*), because those three things will attract good luck for the owner dwelling there.

Determining where the house should face takes into account three principles based on the local wisdom of Buginese-Macassarese, namely:

1. Facing the direction where the sun rises. Following this way means that is the beginning of birth or new life in which is in line with the characteristic of the sun that always rises and inferred as the source of life.
2. Facing the plateau, the hill, or the mountain. It means that it can dignify one's dignity, the spiritual, and the material symbolized with the plateau, the hill, and the mountain.
3. Facing one of wind direction, north, east, south and west by following the direction of where the great dragon faces (*rajalul gaib*) which goes around the earth from top to bottom and from bottom to top based on the concept of the square nature.

Meanwhile in Islam, the good perfect house is facing the Qiblah. The facing direction of the house can be analyzed as follows:

1. The sun light isvitamin D which has high advantage for human's health. The house that faces where the sun rises, directly gets the light. Hence the house is good and fresh. The scientists agree the primary energy of the earth life comes from the sun. Therefore Buginese-Macassarese had understood well about it, even it is connected with the cosmos theory.
2. By facing the plateau, the hill, or the mountain, the wall of the house can be protected from the exposure to high winds. Similarly in terms of sewage will

be efficient, owing to the sewage space and the kitchen are in the back of the house.

3. Facing one of wind direction is much safer, which means that likely to be felled by the wind as been avoided, because the house does not across with the wind direction.

Furthermore there are some ways of choosing and determining where to put the central pillar (in the middle) of the house, such as:

1. Dig the soil an inch, then smell the soil. If it smells good or tastes sweet, it means that the place is deemed good, then give the stakes as a sign.
2. Planting three earthenware (*uring tana* or *uring butta*) containing water or perfumes into the ground and covered with leaves, carrying it out at the time of sunset. In the morning of the next day, the three jars are checked again and the earthenware that has not diminished its contents can be determined as where is deemed better to put the central pillar (*alliri tengnga*), then give the stakes as a sign.

After doing the three things mentioned above, the next step is the establishment. In the creation of the house, all family members and the surrounding community take each role (working together). As described above, that the main areas of the first set is the central pillar (*alliri tengnga*), following with the pole where the banisters take place. At the center pole, a white cloth (*kaci*) is tied as the holy symbol, while under the pole variety of objects are planted, such as *kaluku* (coconut), *golla cella'* (brown sugar), *aju cennung* (cinnamon ,nutmeg and a pinch of rice).

The objects are typically included in a container (earthen pot) or coconut shell. It is intended to facilitate the provision, made in an orderly and peaceful household for the owner. Then at the center pole is placed jars of water containing of the intended, so the homeowner and his family even citizens as a whole always in a good atmosphere that means away from danger. The objects are considered as citizens (the content) of the house (*lise' bola* or *bone balla'*).

The establishment of the house poles can be done in two ways. The first way is the oldest technique; the pole is established by planting one by one, as it was done in Malino. Secondly, the poles that exist nailed then erected in parallel, which can also be done in two ways, namely the pole nailed extends from front to back, and then set up sideways, as it was is done in Bone, Soppeng, Wajo, Sidrap and Pinrang. The second pillar is nailed on the left or right side to raise it from front to back and vice versa, from back to front, as it was done in Makassar and its surroundings.

After all poles established, usually five or four are laterally put side to side and four on the front and back. It is followed with the construction of the roof and then the installation of floors and staircases. The number of the staircase steps is always odd, such as 7, 9, 11, 13 and 15. Similarly, the other parts are always odd number, because the odd number is inferred as belonging to the dead. Besides the even numbers deemed as the sustainable livelihood gained are always mediocre, cannot be excessive. However the number of poles

in this case is exceptional, inasmuch as the shape of the cosmos according to the philosophy is *sulapa eppa* or *sulapa appaka* (rectangular). The total number 16 means four times meet the perfection or number 10 means 5 times meet perfection.

d. **The type of Bugis-Makassar house**

The traditional Bugis-Makassar houses are belonging to the profane building, i.e. the dwelling houses and palaces. They are closed and single shaped, made of bamboo and wood, but there are certain parts are considered sacred, such as the central pillar (*posi'*) and attic (*rakkeang*). The art design created by certain hereditary people that the so-called "Custom-house", without noticing the owner's social status or class. Yet in this context, the notion of Custom-house is restricted to the home or the former palace of the king and nobles, owing to being able to survive up to now and associated with a historical event. Besides it can survive because it has a high quality both from the aspect of technology and quality of materials used.

The type of Bugis-Makassar Custom-house stilt house that stands on a wooden post. The roof is saddle-shaped to facilitate the flow of rainwater; due to the area of South Sulawesi has a high rainfall intensity. According to Mangunwijaya (1980), the shape of the building houses on stilts and the roof is very common and spread from Bima to Hawaii, Indonesia and Japan. Bugis-Makassar house type is an outgrowth of the original purpose as a shelter from rain and heat, wild beasts and the human attack (from another tribe).

Seemingly the type of stilt houses give reasonably good physical effect which is suitable with tropical and humid climatic conditions in Indonesia, so the occupants feel comfortable, safe, secure and healthy. In addition, the materials used for its construction is designed elastically, thus this kind of house is resistant to earthquake and capable enough of withstanding the strong winds.

The house of Bugis-Makassar is classified according to the owner's social layer. Based on that, there are three types of houses, namely:

1. *Sao raja* in Bugis language or *balla' lompo* in Makassar language is a large house inhabited by a family of nobility. The house is usually a discrete, among others; It has five or seven *timpa' laja* (ridge) which contains of five pins for the king in power and three-layered for other nobles. It also has *sapana*, the terraced stairs at the bottom with a roof on it. In Bugis, the sao king's big royal residence has over seven terraced stairs called *Salassa'*.
2. *Sao piti'* in Bugis language or *tarata'* in Makassar language, smaller than *sao raja*, is the no more than four terraced house residence, without *sapana* and has one or three-layered ridges . It is usually inhabited by good people, the rich or the noble, and respected in the community.
3. *Bola to sama'* or *barumppurung* in Bugis language or *balla'* in Makassar language, is a house dwelled by the ordinary people. It mostly has three terraced houses, with two layered ridges without *sapana*. All of Bugis-Makassar custom house-shaped which has one panggu in front of the door called *tamping* is a place for the waiting guests bore being pleased by the owner of the house to enter the living room.

4. *Sao piti'* is not used anymore in Bugis-Makassar vocabularies, while the popular one is *sao raja* or *balla' lompo* and *bola* or *balla'* terms. *sao raja* or *balla' lompo* terms is used not only for the king home centers but also the vassal king (*arung lili'*) and the other nobilities.

The house type is varied, as described below:

- a. *Bola sivali* (Bugis) or *kambara'na* (Makassar), is a room built beside laemier called *tamping* (Bugis) or *jambang* (Makassar). *Bola sivali* only has one room and single roof connected with footbridge or *alleteng* (Bugis) and *tete* (Makassar). This room is special for the noble guests.
- b. *Jongke'* in Bugis language or Makassar language, is smaller than the main house functioned as a kitchen. It is built slightly backwards parallel or transverse to the main house. It looks like *bola simali*, *jongke'* which is connected with footbridge to the main house. *Jongke'* is parallel to the main house called as *bola tonda* (trailer).

In addition between the ground and the body houses, it is connected by stairs with varying terms as well, such as:

1. *Sapana*, is double (two) lined stairs, made of bamboo with an intact bamboo base layer which is given a hole and then inserted in a row.
2. *Cocorang*, is stairs made of wood by using a barrier on the side as a handle. This stairs is used in the noble people's house.
3. *Addeneng*, stairs made of either wood or bamboo for homes of ordinary people, a single stand without a handle called *cocorang* on the sides.

The oldest heritage house of Bugis-Makassar discovered at this time, is the former home Karaeng Buluttana and Gallarang Buluttana each called as Balla 'Jambua and Balla' tingglia in Malino, Gowa regency. According to local villagers, two or more generations do not know when the house was built.

Bugis-Makassar Custom house with the cosmos model is a status symbol that informs us about the social status within the community through the house's patterns.

Bugis-Makassar Custom house, is stilt house with a saddle roof shape, which is suitable with the environmental nature to meet the health factors. The houses are given symbols to indicate the owner's social status in Bugis-Makassar society, that becomes an affirmation and emphasizing the social stratification and show the character and the attitude of Bugisnese-Makassarnese.

Culture does not solely belong to the past, but also belongs to the present and the future. Therefore from that perspective, the traditional architecture of Bugis-Makassar custom house which contains of the local wisdom comes from cognitive and cultural experience, then it always can be accepted from time to time.

- Tallo Settlement neighborhood

Tallo settlement is one of the slum residential areas in Makassar. Hence the settlement pattern form is irregular and very dense. Tallo settlements are also located in the warehousing and factory Industry areas in Makassar.

- The Sacred buildings

As a region which has high historical value, Tallo settlement has "Sultanate Cemetery of Makassar" which becomes sacred in the area.

B. Research Method

The method used in this study is a qualitative research method, as this research is related to Culture and Islamic Bugis-Makassar Acculturation in Tallo Village Moslem. The studies do not require formulas quantitatively. It is descriptive, in explaining about the culture and Islamic Bugis-Makassar on Moslem Village Tallo. The study also describes how the shape and the function of the building in on Tallo Village Moslem.

1. The procedure of collecting data

The procedure of collecting data was by applying direct survey, observation, and archives. The direct survey and the observation were performed around the residence of Gowa Sultanate cemetery in Tallo district. The archives method was conducted by collecting historical and cultural development archives.

2. The method of data analysis

The data analysis were used by summarizing all direct survey records, observation and study of documents or archives.

C. Discussion

1. Moslem of Tallo Village history

District of Tallo is one of 14 districts in the city of Makassar, which is located in the north of Makassar. From the historical records, Tallo District is a relic fundamental to the existence of Ancient Tomb Kings Tallo where the history of Makassar not separated by the history of the kingdom Tallo where the beginning of Makasar town is located in Tallo estuaries with small commercial ports in the region at the end of the fifteenth century.

Furthermore Portuguese sources proclaim that Tallo was originally under Siang a kingdom authority around Pangkajene kingdom, but in the mid-sixteenth century, Tallo was united with a small empire named Gowa, and began to break away from the kingdom of Siang, who ever attacked and conquered the surrounding kingdoms. As a result of the more intense agricultural activities in Tallo upstream, resulting in the shallowing of Tallo rivers, so that the town was transferred to the mouth of Jeneberang river, so the construction of the power palace establishment were done by the nobles of Gowa-Tallo then constructed a Somba Opu defense fortress, which for the next one hundred years later became the core of Makassar.

The establishment of Tallo kingdom by Karaeng Loeri Sero occurred in the late 15th century as a result of a dispute with his brother, Batara Gowa (Karaeng Tunangkalopi) (Bulbeck 1992: 401). Regarding the process of formation of Tallo Kingdom and the origin of its name can be seen on the

lontara quote script as follows: "some time ago, Karaeng Loeri Bantang and Karaeng Loeri Bira allied to recognize and treated Karaeng Loeri Sero as the higher king position than theirs. Karaeng Loeri Bira and Karaeng Loeri Bantang sent his people to cut down a forest named "Toloang", near Bira River where they established a palace for Karaeng Loeri Sero. The place was later named as Tallo.

At that time Tallo kingdom began to stand "The power that had been given by Kareng Tunangkalopi (Batara Gowa) turned out to be unfruitful peace, over the years the two kingdoms involved in a civil war. It was only during the reign of King of Gowa royal IX affiliated in a very close bond (see Iqbal, 2004: 24). Tallo kingdom region included Saumata, Panampu, Snout Loe and Loe Parang. In the reign of King of Gowa IX Karaeng Tumapakrisik Kallonna established Tallo Fort. The fort is the center building marker of Tallo kingdom and had become one of the fortresses that was destroyed by the Agreement of Bungayya occurred in 1667. In the castle area, there was a Tomb Complex of Tallo Kings, Tallo Kings Stone Inauguration, and Bungung Barania which was Tallo monumental kingdom heritage monument. The destroyed region located in and around Tallo was then developed into a settlement of Makassar tribe known as Kampung Tallo.

In the history of the spread of Islamic culture in Bugis-Makassar, Malay traders brought the first knowledge of Islam in South Sulawesi. They consisted of the top traders of Pahang Malay, Pattani, Johor, Campa, Minangkabau, and Java.

Based on Lontara Pattorioloang (Lontara History), during the reign of King of Gowa X Tonipalangga, there was a Moslem village in Makassar. Moslem villagers consisted of the Malay traders. Even during the reign of the next king, Tanijallo (1565-1590 AD), a mosque was established in Manggallekanna, where the merchants lived.

Although there had been Moslem neighborhoods and mosques there, Islam was accepted when Gowa Tallo converted to Islam. According Sewang, the settlers of Malay had initiative to preach Islam to the king. They were three scholars invited from Central City (Minangkabau) to convert the Kingdom of Gowa-Tallo. Three preachers who came from Minangkabau were called as Datuk.

The preachers who came to Makassar were called as Dalto Tallu (Three Dato) or another source named Datuk Tellue (Bugis language) or Datuk Tallua (Makassar language). Three of them were brothers and came from Central City, Minangkabau. They were Dato'ri Bandang (Abdul Makmur or a single preacher). Dato'ri Pattimang (Dato 'Sulaemana or the Eldest preacher), Dato'ri Tiro (or Abdul Jawad Khatib the youngest). Abdul Makmur called Dato'ri Bandang, namely single khatib (Katte Tunggal) who converted the kings of Gowa and Tallo to Islam. He could be considered as an expert, as evidenced from a news from Java who said he was a disciple of Wali Songo (J.NoorDuyn, 1972: 33). Kahtib or also known as Datuk Sulaiman Pattimang (First born Khatib), the preacher who spread Islam in Luwu, so he understood as people

who Islamized Datu Luwu, La Paiware Daeng Parabbung, which was then named in Arabic, Sultan Muhammad Abdul Jawad (Khatib youngest) known as Tiro Dato'ri that the preacher who spread Islam in the south Peninsula of South Sulawesi (Abu Hamid, 1994: 74)

Regarding to the history of the arrival of Dato'ri Bandang in Makassar, he arrived in the port of Tallo in 1605 using a magic boat. Upon arriving at the beach, he directly performed a prayer. Hearing the news of the arrival of Datuk, King Tallo, I Malingkang Daeng Manyomi Karaeng Katangka, immediately came to see him. King Tallo recited the shahada on Friday afternoon, (Jumada Al-Awwal 1014 H or 22 September 1605 AD) then he was later named as Sultan Abdullah. Furthermore, the King of Gowa recited the shahada on Friday, 19 Rajab 1016 H or 9 November 1607 M and officially the king of the kingdom of Gowa-Tallo converted to Islam.

Formerly Tallo area was the residence of the Kings and keluraganyatheiir family. After this empire was collapsed and was destroyed by the Dutch, then the population flocked to build settlements in this area. The first tribe inhabited in this Moslem village was Bugis-Makassar. However referring to the results of the interview, the local people were reluctant to be called as people whose ethnic was Bugis and Makassar, but Tallo.

2. *Tallo Settlement patterns*

The society in Tallo village earn a livelihood as a fisherman because Tallo area is located in the coastal areas and Tallo river. Some of residents also work as factory workers, because the area of Tallo is also an area of warehousing and factory Industry.

Tallo social life settlements still upholds the cultural values of mutual cooperation, even though the village is located in the city of Makassar, according to an interview of one of the local residents, they still conduct mutual cooperation (work together) while there is private activity. It is different from the city people who are more concerned about their lives which are far from the cultural values of mutual cooperation.

Culture and rituals practiced by Tallo society from the beginning until now is not far from the teachings of Islam and Bugis-Makassar culture as Pannaung Rije'ne, Tammu Taun, Asiarah, Jene-Jene Saffara, as well as traditional art Gangrang Bulo, Pamancak and traditional cakes named *surabe*.

The acculturation of the Islamic Bugis-Makassar culture is still preserved by some of Tallo society in establishing a house commonly called as *mappatettong bola* (Bugis language) or *mappaenteng balla'* (Makassar language). Before building a new house, it's important for Buginese-Macassarese to think about three things: a place or location set up, the facing direction toward home and determining the place of establishment of the center pillar, since these three things will determine the success or failure of the owner's life. In terms of material selection Tallo people use and exploit natural resources in its surrounding.

3. *The Structure and Spatial of Tallo Region*

Tallo Village Tallo districts are administratively located in Tallo district, Makassar City Regional Level II. The geographical position of the village office is located at S 05° 00'6"26,7" and E 119° 02'6"22,9". With boundaries: North: Makassar Strait, South: Tallo River district Tamalaranea, West: Makasar Strait, East: Bulua sub district Tallo

A population of 8,017 inhabitants consisting of as many as 3,898 men and women's lives as much as 4,119 people. Number of pre-prosperous family in the village of Tallo is as much as 1,043 families.

Tallo residential area is one of the slum areas in the city of Makassar. The structure of the settlement pattern has a linear characteristic and spreads following the roads, so it tends to be in irregular arrangement. The village area is located in the coastal areas of Makassar and Tallo River, and also an area of warehouses and industrial factories.



NOTES:

- 1. SOCIETY SETTLEMENTS, 2. FACTORIES AND TRADING, 3. PUBLIC SPACE, 3. MOSQUE, 4. TALLO KINGS TOMB, 5. TALLO SUB DISTRICT OFFICE, 7. SCHOOL, 8. MANGROVE TREE AREA

Figure 2: The map of Spatial structure in Tallo village region (Source: Google Earth)

Village of Tallo, Tallo District in Makassar, has 26 neighborhood units (RT) and 5 the pillars of the citizens units (RW). The Condition of roads around the village streets are fairly narrow, and it is a seedy neighborhood. It can be shown in the image that there are disorder settlements pattern and the houses are quite dense.

The houses in the Tallo Village are still dominated by Bugis-Makassar custom houses. In addition from the spatial pattern, there is no kitchen in the custom house, according to its owner that the spatial pattern does not have a kitchen. However, at the top of it there is a room under the roof of the storage of rice and other foodstuffs, such rooms commonly called as *Rakkeang*.

Bugis-Makassar tradition in building a house is also influenced by the social status or the state of their economy level, which is in front of the roof is commonly referred to as *timpa'laja*. When the house this *timpa' laja* levels as much as 1 or 2 layers so they are ordinary people. The more the number of *timpa, laja* are, the higher the social status



are. if the people is capable of in terms of the economy or a public figure, then his *timpa'laja* arrangement are as much as 3 or 4 layers. The composition of the highest between 5 interchanges, show that the society are the descendants of the king. Similarly the house of one resident in Tallo have signaled *timpa'laja* 5 array which shows that the owner of the house has a high social status or a local community leader.

The windows of the house use wood materials and are still visible that the elements of the custom homes, but the material used as the shutters are already included in the glass material modern home. However, the glass used is very simple, which is not patterned glass.

The door of the house also still uses simple materials, namely wood, and consists of one door only. The layout of the entrance is on the right side of the house, and almost all the residents of Tallo location share the same position of the door. *Rakkeang* is located at the bottom of the roof used as a storage area of rice and other foodstuffs.



There are two stairs in this house, the front and the rear. The front Stairs is the guest access to the owner's house or public access. While the rear stairs is the access to the owner of the house or private access.

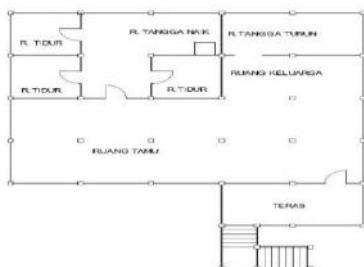


Figure 3: Street condition & The Plan of Bugis-Makassar Custom House
(Source: private documentation, 2015)

From the results of the survey conducted, there are 3 bedroom's king beds with their ornaments and striking colors, namely red and yellow. There is also a floral or plant ornament on these beds. There is no room in the kitchen of the house, but at the bottom of the house, it is mixed with modern elements that there is a room with a masonry wall material, which is also functioned as a kitchen. Up to now the people in Tallo have hold their custom house tradition, although nowadays it is influenced by elements of Islamic and modern elements. The Islamic element in building their homes are not too influential, which changed only the ornaments of the house in the form of calligraphy in a frame of image displayed on the walls of their homes. Likewise, the influential elements of Islam that is oriented toward the toilet or closet in their home, should not be faced to the Qibla. The most attractive thing is the modern elements, proven in Tallo that there is a residential modern housing. The most striking one is that although the houses are on stilts, but the bottom of the house is built in the wall patterns and functioned as a bedroom or living room as displayed in the picture of one of Tallo society houses.

The Tallo Moslem Village houses today still use their custom house called stilts house, though the modern elements already exist in their architectures.

One of the modern houses in Moslem's Tallo villages, yet there are a few modern houses like this, the majority of the population are fond of the custom houses of their called stilt houses.



Figure 4: In habitat's house and Modern House in Tallo Village (Source: private documentation, 2015)

4. Awaluddin Mosque

The mosque in the village are now following the modern elements, one of the mosque is named as Awaluddin mosque. Referring to the interview, this mosque is the first mosque in the Moslems' Tallo village that has been established to follow the elements of modern Islamic architecture. There is no data about Awaluddin mosque since it was first built, but based on the results of interviews to several local residents, this mosque used to be very simple with woven bamboo wall.

The doors and windows of the mosque use wood and glass materials, which potrays the acculturation of traditional and modern culture and Islam. Similarly, there is ornamental calligraphy on it the section doors and arches.

5. The Tombs of Tallo Kings

The most powerful historical evidence of Moslem Tallo Village complex is the tombs of the kings and their Tallo relatives. The tomb has a unique and different shapes of tombs in general, resembles a temple which looks like an element of Hindu culture and to the tomb of the king size is large and there is an access to get into the tomb. Moreover there is also a dome-shaped tomb like a dome mosque in the Islamic elements into the tomb.



The Tallo Kings tomb was built around the 17th century, and was used as the tomb of the ruler of Tallo until the 19th century. Is Tunatengkalopi, the King of Gowa VI (1445-1460), who divides the kingdoms of Gowa into two, namely Tallo and Gowa. He then formed an alliance and became the dominant force in this region, until the Dutch colonial army under the command of Speelman ended the dominance of Gowa, assisted by La Tenri Tatta Whitewater Palakka of Bone.

This tomb has a unique ornament of bricks arranged neatly with unique indentations. There are many tombs in the complex of tombs of the kings of Tallo, the large and the small ones. According to officials of the tomb, the large-sized tombs are for the kings and the small tombs are for Tallo king's relatives.

The large tomb has an access to it, many people bring offerings to it. Furthermore it also becomes a tourism object in this Moslem Tallo village, and many local residents from outside of the area visit it as well.



Figure 5: Awaluddin Mosque and The Tombs of Tallo King's (Source: private documentation, 2015)

D. Conclusion

Tallo is the name, code, and also the trace of history in general and the relic of Islamic Archipelago face specifically by the Tombs area of Tallo Kings as the mute witness. In the history and culture, Taan Makassar linked: stems from the construction of Makassar harbor in the estuary of Tallo with small commercial harbor in that region at the end of the fifteenth century.

Tallo village is the settlement that has very high historical value because the area is an area that was first embraced Islam. The pattern of Tallo Moslem Village is influenced by the factors religiosity value, especially the Islamic cosmology, the location of the region, philosophy and world-view (world view) architecture of Bugis-Makassar especially about the concept of traditional house and layout of a traditional township. However, these conditions do not last

long, following the fall of Tallo kingdom by the ambush of Dutch colonialism. Even though, with a number of cultural artifacts left behind: traditional houses, mosques and tombs of Tallo kings, left the traces and witnessed about Tallo that was once a very big Islamic Archipelago kingdom in its era.

Tallo village with its architecture style that was a combination of tradition and local culture of Bugis-Makassar and the idea of the Islamic universality is in the coastal areas of Makassar, so the area is also a trading center in South Sulawesi. Currently Tallo village warehousing area and industrial factory of Makassar, so slowly, this settlement is scraped by the modernity.

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DEKULTUSISASI WALI DALAM TRADISI TAREKAT (Studi tentang Konsep Kewalian Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dan Pengaruhnya Di Nusantara)

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Abstrak: Artikel ini mencoba untuk mengkaji tentang pandangan dan konsepsi tasawuf —lebih dikhususkan kepada konsep kewalian dalam tradisi tarekat— Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari. Menurut Alwi Shihab, Syekh Hasyim adalah salah seorang tokoh sufi Sunni Nusantara sejajar dengan para sufi Sunni Nusantara lainnya, seperti Syekh Nurudin al-Raniri dan 'Abd al-Samad al-Palimbani. Syekh Hasyim juga dikenal sebagai ulama besar yang membidani lahirnya organisasi Islam terbesar di Indonesia, yaitu Nahdlatul Ulama (NU). Sebagai ulama kharismatik di Nusantara —khususnya di NU—, pandangan dan pemikiran Syekh Hasyim Hasyim tentu membawa pengaruh luas di dalam konstelasi keummatan dan keberagamaan umat di Nusantara. Di antara pandangan Syekh Hasyim yang hingga kini memiliki implikasi besar adalah menyangkut konsep kewalian (*al-walayah*) dalam tradisi tarekat. Dalam konteks ini, Syekh Hasyim sangat kritis terhadap pemberian label/predikat kewalian seseorang, terutama pada seorang guru tarekat (murshid). Syekh Hasyim sangat menentangnya. Sebab hal ini akan dapat membawa kepada kultus individu secara membabi buta, sehingga dapat menyebabkan kepada prilaku syirik kepada Allah swt. Yang lebih menarik adalah pandangan dan konsepsi Syekh Hasyim tentang kewalian —dekultusasi wali dalam tradisi tarekat— ini justru tidak banyak diikuti bahkan cenderung diabaikan oleh umat di bawahnya, khususnya oleh tarekat yang tergabung di dalam Jam'iyyat Ahl al-Tariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyah milik NU. Inilah yang kemudian sangat menarik untuk menjadi stressing kajian dalam artikel ini.

Kata Kunci: Dekultusasi Wali, Tarekat, dan Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari.

Pendahuluan

Artikel ini sengaja ditulis untuk menjawab seputar perdebatan panjang tentang konsep kewalian (*al-walayah*) yang terjadi di kalangan para praktisi tasawuf —baik di kalangan sufi ortodok (*Sunni*) maupun sufi heterodok (*Falsafi*)—, khususnya yang berkembang di dalam tradisi tarekat. Perdebatan tersebut menyangkut antara lain tentang labelitas kewalian, siapa yang berhak disebut *wali* Allah, juga tentang perlakuan *murid* terhadap *murshid* (syekh

sufi/guru tarekat). Pedebatan tersebut pada praktek bertarekat akan membawa dampak serius, khususnya menyangkut keabsahan dalam beribadah kepada Allah melalui media bertarekat. Sebab dalam praktek bertarekat, seorang murid jika tidak memahami secara baik tentang posisinya terhadap guru tarekat (*murshid*)nya, maka akan membawa kepada kultus individu, bahkan ada sebagian pengamat tarekat yang kebablasan (kelewatan batas) dalam memandang seorang *murshid*. Seorang *murshid* bisa saja dianggap sebagai *wali* Allah yang dapat menyambungkan kepentingan seorang murid secara membabi buta. Demikian juga sebaliknya, seorang *murshid* telah merasa nyaman dianggap sebagai *wali* Allah, karena memiliki legitimasi kuat sebagai wakil Tuhan/ *khalifah* di dunia ini.

Pandangan demikian di satu sisi, akan membawa konsekuensi terhadap kultus individu yang dapat berakibat merusak iman seseorang, dan disi lain *wali* Allah memang dianggap sebagai orang yang mampu untuk menjembatani urusan dunia dengan Tuhan. Namun jika hal ini tidak dipahami secara benar oleh seorang murid terhadap guru (*murshid*)nya, maka justru dapat menjerumuskan keimanan dan ibadahnya, tidak akan bernilai apapun di hadapan Allah swt., bahkan dianggap salah sama sekali. Dalam konteks ini, ada seorang tokoh sufi *Sunni* Nusantara yang memiliki perhatian serius terhadap bahaya dan konsekuensi negatif yang ditimbulkan sebagai akibat dari kultus individu tersebut, adalah Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari. Dia sangat kritis terhadap penyebutan kewalian seseorang, bahkan menurutnya, menganggap seseorang sebagai *wali* Allah adalah sesuatu yang tidak dibenarkan dan diharamkan oleh Islam. Oleh karena itu, Syekh Hasyim sangat berhati-hati dalam memberikan labelitas kewalian seseorang. *Wali* bagi Syekh Hasyim adalah urusan Allah dan Allah semata yang mengetahuinya. Kalupun ada sebagian manusia yang dapat mengetahui keberadaan *wali* Allah, maka sebenarnya dia adalah juga berada pada tingkat kewalian. Hal ini sesuai dengan adagium yang selama ini berkembang di kalangan sufi, bahwa *la ya'rif al-wali illa Allah wa al-wali* (tidak ada yang dapat mengetahui keberadaan *wali* Allah kecuali Allah dan si *wali* itu sendiri).

Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dikenal sebagai pencetus dan pendiri organisasi Nahdaltul Ulama (NU) pada tahun 1926 M., yang hingga kini telah eksis dan menjadi organisasi massa Islam terbesar di Indonesia, bahkan telah memiliki cabang NU di sebagian Negara-negara Timur Tengah, Asia dan Eropa/ Barat. Hingga kini pandangan-pandangan Syekh Hasyim menjadi panutan dan rujukan utama bagi kalangan Nahdliyyin untuk urusan tuntunan dan ajaran keagamaan. Namun yang lebih menarik adalah dalam pandangan-pandangan tasawuf Syekh Hasyim, ternyata tidak semua diikuti oleh jamaahnya/ pengikutnya (kaum Nahdliyyin), bahkan cenderung diabaikan, khususnya ajaran yang menyangkut soal tasawuf/tarekat. Pandangan kritisnya adalah menyangkut konsep kewalian, yang sebagian besar telah bertentangan dengan pandangan tokoh sufi/kyai NU kebanyakan. Di sinilah letak signifikansi studi ini.

Konseptualisasi Kewalian dalam Tradisi Tarekat

Dalam diskursus tasawuf, konsep *al-walayah* (kewalian) menempati posisi khusus, sebab labelitas *wali* adalah predikat yang tidak semua orang dapat memiliki. Kewalian seseorang tidak serta merta bisa diperoleh sesuai kehendaknya. *Al-walayah* menjadi sesuatu yang sangat privat dan hanya Tuhan yang memiliki hak untuk memberikan predikat *wali* kepada seseorang sesuai dengan kehendak-Nya. Dengan kata lain, kewalian seseorang merupakan hak prerogatif Tuhan. Di sinilah Tuhan akan memilih seseorang untuk diangkat derajadnya menjadi *wali* atau tidak sesuai dengan kehendak-Nya. Karena itu pula, *wali* adalah manusia biasa yang dipilih oleh Tuhan yang memiliki posisi istimewa di Hadirat-Nya. Dengan demikian, predikat *wali* sebenarnya sesuatu yang sakral, suci, dan sangat rahasia. Kedudukannya di bawah Rasul dan Nabi.

Para sufi mendevinisikan kewalian (*al-walayah*) dengan berbagai perspektif. Imam al-Razi (w. 606 H) memberikan penjelasan bahwa kata *al-walayah* berakar kata dari *w-l-y* yang memiliki makna dekat. Dengan demikian kata *al-wali* adalah orang yang dekat. Yang dimaksud kedekatan di sini adalah kedekatan spiritual yang bersumber dari *al-qalbu* (hati) dalam pancaran ma'rifat kepada Allah swt. (*ma'rifatullah*) (al-Razi, 1995: 276). Sedangkan al-Qahthani mengatakan, asal kata *al-walayah* adalah *walla-ynwalli-wilayatan* yang berarti dekat (*al-qurb*), mencintai (*al-hubb*), dan penolong (*al-nusrah*) (al-Qahthani, 1997: 27-33). Ada juga yang mengartikan, bahwa *wali* adalah orang yang mengenal Allah (*al-'arif billah*) dan sifat-sifatNya, senantiasa dalam ketaatan dan jauh dari maksiat serta berpaling dari larut dalam syahwat (Khazam, 1993: 188; Septiadi, 2013: 295).

Berbeda dengan pengertian di atas, Imam al-Qushairi memberikan perspektif tentang *al-walayah* pada dua penekanan. Pertama, dilihat dari bentuk *fa'il* (subyek) dan *maf'ul* (obyek), yang berarti orang yang diambil alih kekuasaannya oleh Allah swt. Kedua, dilihat dari bentuk *fi'il* yang berarti penekanan (*mubalaghah*) dari *fa'il*. Artinya bahwa seorang *wali* adalah orang yang senantiasa taat kepada Allah secara *istiqamah*/konsisten dan konsekuensi dalam menjalankannya tanpa ada *hijab* maksiat sedikit pun (Dahri, 2004: 33-34). Kedua penekanan ini –menurut al-Qushairi— harus senantiasa ada pada seorang *wali* untuk dianggap sebagai *wali* yang sebenarnya, dengan terus menegakkan hak-hak Allah swt. atas dirinya sepenuhnya, di samping perlindungan Allah swt. padanya di saat senang maupun susah. Al-Qushairi melanjutkan, salah satu persyaratan seorang *wali* adalah bahwa Allah melindunginya dari mengulangi perbuatan dosa (*mahfudz*), seperti halnya persyaratan seorang Nabi adalah bahwa dia terjaga dari segala dosa (*ma'shum*). Siapa pun yang berbuat dengan cara yang menyimpang dari syari'at Allah, berarti dia telah tertipu (al-Qushairi, tt: 250-260).

Tidak sedikit ayat al-Qur'an maupun Hadis Nabi yang menjelaskan keberadaan para *wali* Allah ini. Bahkan mereka dianggap oleh Allah memiliki tempat yang sangat khusus karena kelebihan ketaqwaan yang dimilikinya tersebut. Misalnya dalam Surat Yunus: 62-64, al-Baqarah: 257, al-A'raf: 196; al-

Kahfi: 44 dan 50, al-Nahl: 98-100, al-An'am: 121, Maryam: 45, al-Mumtahanah: 1 al-Ra'd: 11, dan al-Ankabut: 41. Demikian juga dalam banyak Hadis Nabi saw.

Dalam mencapai derajad kedekatan kepada Allah swt., para *wali* dapat dikategorikan ke dalam dua hal. Pertama, para *wali* yang hanya berkonsentrasi penuh terhadap ibadah *mahdiah*, tanpa mengurangi dan menambahnya, senantiasa konsisten terhadap apa yang telah digariskan oleh Allah dan Rasulnya. Kedua, para *wali* yang ibadahnya di samping yang *mahdiah*, juga melaksanakan ibadah *ghairu mahdiah*, juga melaksanakan yang sunnah-sunnah (*nawafil*) untuk mencapai keridlaan Allah swt (Dahri, 2004: 39). Dengan demikian, derajad kewalian tidaklah dapat dicari dengan mudah, apalagi direncanakan. Sebab di sini ada kerahasiaan Allah yang tidak dapat diprediksi oleh siapa pun. Allah memiliki hak prerogatif siapa pun yang dipilihnya sebagai kekasih (*wali*)-Nya.

Dalam konteks ini, al-Qushairi memberikan dua perspektif dalam melihat status kewalian seseorang, apakah diperbolehkan seseorang untuk menyadari dirinya sebagai seorang *wali* atau bukan. Sebagian ada yang mengatakan, "hal itu tidak diperbolehkan. Sang *wali* harus selalu introspeksi dirinya dengan pandangan penuh hina. Jika suatu *karamah*⁵³ terjadi melalui dirinya, dia merasa takut jika *karamah* tersebut merupakan godaan dan dia senantiasa merasa takut jika keadaan akhirnya berlawanan dengan keadaannya sekarang". Para sufi yang berpandangan seperti ini menjadikan syarat kewalian harus selaras dengan keteguhannya hingga akhir hayat. Sebagian yang lain berpendapat, bahwa "boleh saja seorang *wali* mengetahui bahwa dirinya adalah *wali*, dan kesetiaan pada kewalian sampai akhir hayat sang *wali* bukanlah persyaratan untuk mencapai derajad kewalian di saat ini" (al-Qushairi, tt: 260).

Akan tetapi yang terjadi pada perkembangan selanjutnya justru sebaliknya, pengakuan akan kewalian diri seseorang menjadi sesuatu yang justru menjauhkan dirinya dari maksud diberikannya *karamah* terhadap sang *wali*, namun akan dimanfaatkan kepada hal-hal yang tidak baik, bahkan jauh dari maksud Allah swt. memberikan derajad kewalian tersebut. Misalnya yang terjadi di sebagian masyarakat di sekitar kita, jika ditemukan seorang tokoh agama, kyai, ulama, dan tokoh lainnya yang memiliki kelebihan tertentu dalam bidang agama dan juga keanehan-keanehan yang tidak umum terjadi di masyarakat (*kharig li al-'adah*), maka masyarakat mudah sekali menjustifikasi bahwa dia adalah seorang *wali*. Kejadian ini hampir terjadi pada sebagian besar di dalam tradisi tarekat. Padahal labelitas *wali* —jika mengacu kepada kriteria yang diberikan al-Qushairi di atas— adalah sangat *rigid* dan sulit untuk mencapainya.

Dalam dunia tarekat, penyebutan kewalian seseorang seakan telah menjadi kebiasaan, dan istilah *wali* adalah sesuatu yang dianggap wajar (*lumrah*). Apalagi jika konsep kewalian ini dipahami sebagai orang yang secara khusus

⁵³ *Karamah* di kalangan sufi didefinisikan sebagai kejadian yang di luar adat kebiasaan yang timbul pada diri *wali*. *Karamah* merupakan keistimewaan di luar kebiasaan sebagai anugerah yang terjadi pada para *wali* berkat kedekatannya dengan Allah karena iman dan ibadah yang dilakukan (Septiawadi, 2013: 295).

dapat menjadi perantara atau penyambung jama'ah tarekat atau murid untuk dapat berkomunikasi dan bahkan bertemu —secara spiritual— dengan Allah swt. Dalam dunia tarekat orang khusus tersebut dapat disebut sebagai *murshid* (guru tarekat/syekh sufi). Oleh karena itu, hampir sudah menjadi anggapan umum pada sebagian besar tarekat bahwa seorang *murshid* itu identik atau paling tidak memiliki derajad sama dengan seorang *wali*. Karena seorang *murshid* memiliki fungsi membimbing dan mengarahkan murid-muridnya dalam mencapai keridlaan Allah swt (Bizawie, 2014: 217). Perbedaannya terletak kepada praksis pelaksanaannya. Jika *murshid* berfungsi membimbing, mengarahkan, dan melatih secara teknis ritual ibadah kepada muridnya untuk sampai kepada *ridla* Allah swt, maka *wali* adalah predikat yang melekat pada seseorang yang karena kesalihan dan ketaatan yang dimilikinya. Dengan kata lain dapat dikemukakan, bahwa *murshid* merupakan semacam jabatan politis dalam tarekat, sementara *wali* adalah anugerah dari Allah sebagai konsekuensi dari kepribadian yang ditunjukkan olehnya terhadap Allah swt.

Akan tetapi dalam praksisnya, di dunia tarekat telah berkembang semacam kepercayaan bahkan sudah menjadi keyakinan di kalangan jamaah/murid tarekat bahwa seorang *murshid* adalah pasti seorang *wali* Allah, sebab dia dianggap sebagai wakil/*khalifah* yang dapat mengantarkannya menuju Allah swt. Seorang *murshid* (guru tarekat) dipandang sebagai orang sakti dan orang utama. Segala-galanya milik guru, bahkan nyawa pun harus diserahkan kepada sang guru. Apabila ada seorang murid yang berkhianat dan berani kepada guru dengan perbuatan, perkataan, bahkan pikiran sekali pun, akan dianggap sebagai dosa besar. Oleh karena itu, ada ketentuan bahwa murid tidak boleh membantah, apalagi menghina guru (Bizawie, 2014: 217-218; Shah, 2000: 459). Anggapan inilah yang kemudian membawa konsekuensi kepada kultus individu, yang sebenarnya sangat dilarang di dalam ajaran agama Islam. Sebab kultus individu semacam ini bisa mendekatkan kepada perbuatan syirik, karena mengklaim suci pribadi seseorang, hampir tidak ada celah kesalahan sama sekali. Kultus semacam inilah yang kemudian menjadi kritik tajam dari Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari pada pembahasan berikutnya.

Hadratus Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari: Sufi *Sunni* Nusantara

Nama lengkap Hasyim adalah Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari. Dia dilahirkan pada tanggal 24 Dzulqa'dah 1287/14 Pebruari 1871 di desa Gedang Jombang Jawa Timur, dari keluarga elite Jawa (Salam, 1962: 19; Nazwar, 1983: 93). Dia juga dari keluarga Basyaiban yang masih memiliki hubungan keturunan dengan para da'i Arab dari *Ahl al-Bait* yang datang membawa Islam di Asia Tenggara pada abad ke-14 H (Shihab, 2001: 117). Dia lahir di pesantren milik kakeknya –dari pihak ibu, yaitu Kyai Usman yang didirikan pada akhir abad 19, dari seorang ibu yang bernama Halimah. Ayah Hasyim, Ahmad Asy'ari, sebelumnya merupakan santri terpandai di pesantren Gedang. Karena kepandaian dan akhlaknya, Kyai Usman menikahkannya dengan putrinya, yaitu Halimah. Kyai Asy'ari sendiri kemudian mendirikan pesantren Keras di Jombang. Ayah Hasyim ini berasal dari desa Tingkir, yang masih keturunan dari

Abdul Wahid Tingkir yang diyakini masih keturunan raja Muslim Jawa, Jaka Tingkir, dan raja Hindu Majapahit, Prabu Brawijaya VI (Lembu Peteng) (Khuluq, 2000: 14-15).⁵⁴

Hasyim adalah anak ketiga dari sepuluh bersaudara, yaitu Nafi'ah, Ahmad Saleh, Radiah, Hassan, Anis, Fathanah, Maimunah, Maksum, Nahrawi, dan Adnan. Sampai usia lima tahun, dia diasuh oleh orang tua dan kakeknya di Pesantren Gedang. Ketika ayahnya mendirikan pesantren baru di Keras pada tahun 1876, Hasyim yang masih kanak-kanak itu ikut diboyong ke desa yang berada di sebelah selatan Jombang tersebut (Noer, 1980: 249). Pada saat Hasyim telah memasuki usia 13 tahun, dia sudah mem-*badali* (mengganti) ayahnya untuk mengajar di pesantren tersebut (Dhofier, 1982: 93). Pada saat usianya mencapai 15 tahun, Hasyim memulai mengembara guna menuntut ilmu di berbagai pesantren di Jawa maupun di Madura. Pada tahun 1891, dia belajar di pesantren Kyai Ya'kub, Siwalan Panji Sidoarjo Jawa Timur. Pada tahun 1892, dia dinikahkan dengan seorang putri kyainya, yaitu khadijah (Khuluq, 2000: 17; Nazwar, 1983: 93; Noer, 1980: 250). Pada tahun itu juga, dia bersamaistrinya pergi ke Mekah. Selama tujuh bulan tinggal di Mekah, Hasyim harus pulang sendirian ke tanah air, karena istrinya telah meninggal dunia –usai melahirkan anaknya yang bernama Abdullah, yang juga meninggal dunia saat baru berusia dua bulan (Khuluq, 2000: 17).

Pada tahun 1893, Hasyim kembali ke Mekah dengan ditemani saudaranya, Anis, yang kemudian juga meninggal. Kali ini dia tinggal di Mekah selama tujuh tahun. Di antara guru-gurunya ialah: Syekh Mahfudz Termas, Syekh Mahmud Khatib al-Minangkabawy, Imam Nawawi al-Bantany, Syekh Syatha, Syekh Dagistany, Syekh al-Allamah Abdul Hamid al-Darustany, dan Syekh Muhammad Syu'aib al-Maghriby. Di antara sekian guru, yang paling berpengaruh dalam wacana pemikiran Hasyim adalah Syekh Mahfudz (w. 1920), yang merupakan ulama pertama Indonesia yang dipercaya untuk mengajar kitab *Shahih al-Bukhari* di Mekah, karena memang ahli dalam ilmu hadis. Keahlian inilah yang kemudian diwarisi oleh Hasyim. Bahkan Hasyim telah mendapatkan ijazah untuk mengajarkan kitab *Shahih al-Bukhari* tersebut dari Syekh Mahfudz tersebut yang merupakan pewaris terakhir dari pertalian *sanad* hadis Nabi dari 23 generasi penerima karya ini. Di bawah bimbingan Syekh Mahfudz ini juga, Hasyim mempelajari Tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah yang diperolehnya dari Syekh Nawawi al-Bantany dari Syekh Khatib Sambas (Adnan, 1982: 26; Khuluq, 2000: 24).

Hasyim mempelajari fiqh madzhab Syafi'i di bawah bimbingan Syekh Ahmad Khatib al-Minangkabawy yang juga ahli dalam ilmu *falak*, ilmu *hisab* dan *al-jabar*. Ahmad Khatib adalah ulama moderat yang memperkenalkan Hasyim

⁵⁴ Pendapat terakhir tentang asal-usul Hasyim Asy'ari dari pihak ayah sampai kepada keluarga alu Syaiban –da'i Arab Muslim yang datang ke Indonesia pada abad ke-4 Hijriyah untuk menyebarkan Islam ke Asia Selatan, dan mendirikan bangunan pusat agama Islam dan kesultanan-kesultanan Islam yang akhirnya dikenal dengan kesultanan alu Adlamah Khan--. Mereka ini adalah keturunan Ja'far Shadiq bin Imam Muhammad Baqir (Bisri, 1994: 27).

untuk mempelajari *Tafsir al-Manar*. Hasyim mengagumi rasionalitas yang dikembangkan Muhammad Abdurrahman dalam kitab tersebut. Namun demikian, dia tidak menganjurkan santrinya untuk membacanya karena dianggap merendahkan ulama tradisional. Dia sepakat dengan keharusan dalam meningkatkan semangat keberagamaan Muslim, tetapi dia menolak dorongan Abdurrahman yang ingin membebaskan umat dari sistem bermadzhab melalui penolakannya terhadap madzhab. Dorongan Abdurrahman yang demikian, bagi Hasyim, akan memutar-balikkan ajaran Islam dan akan berdampak pada terputusnya alur pemikiran dalam sejarah intelektual Islam. Hasyim percaya bahwa tanpa mengenal wacana dan alur pemikiran sebelumnya, tidak mungkin dapat dipahami secara benar maksud al-Qur'an dan al-Hadis (Adnan, 1982: 26-27). Di luar kesibukannya menuntut ilmu, Hasyim juga menyempatkan diri untuk bertapa di Gua Hira'. Terdapat juga laporan, bahwa dia sempat mengajar di Mekah sebelum akhirnya pulang ke tanah air.

Sekembalinya dari Mekah (tahun 1900), Hasyim mengajar di pesantren ayah dan kakaknya, sebelum mencoba mendirikan pesantren sendiri di rumah mertuanya, Plemahan Kediri Jawa Timur. Usaha mendirikan pondok pesantren ini gagal, sampai akhirnya dia mencoba kembali untuk mendirikan pesantren di tempat lain, yang hingga kini dikenal dengan Pesantren "Tebuireng" di Cukir Jombang. Pesantren "Tebuireng" tersebut terletak sekitar dua kilometer dari pesantren ayahnya. Tiga bulan berikutnya, jumlah santrinya telah mencapai 28 orang (Adnan, 1982: 29). Pesantren yang dibiayai secara mandiri oleh Hasyim ini, akhirnya menjadi pesantren yang paling berpengaruh dan berwibawa di seluruh Nusantara, khususnya pulau Jawa dan sekitarnya, dan menjadi rujukan pesantren-pesantren pada masanya.

Pesantren Tebuireng selanjutnya lebih merupakan pesantren untuk pengajaran tingkat tinggi, mengingat kebanyakan murid yang datang adalah mereka yang sebelumnya telah "nyantri" di berbagai pondok pesantren. Seperti Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah, ia mengunjungi Tebuireng setelah menamatkan belajarnya di pesantren Kyai Khalil Bangkalan Madura (Dhofier, 1982: 25-26). Pada tiap bulan Sya'ban, para kyai biasanya mengunjungi pengajian K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari untuk belajar hadis. Bahkan gurunya sendiri, Kyai Khalil Bangkalan juga pernah hadir dalam pengajian yang dibimbing oleh K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari ini (Noer, 1980: 93). Ini menunjukkan adanya pengakuan kepada publik bahwa K.H. Hasyim Asy'ari adalah salah seorang yang berhak secara *muttashil* karena mempunyai mata rantai (*sanad*) untuk mengajarkan hadis *Shahih al-Bukhari*.

Adapun terkait dengan karya warisan Syekh Hasyim, menurut catatan yang dihimpun oleh cucu Syekh Hasyim, Ishom Hadziq adalah sebagai berikut:

1. *al-Tibyan fi an-Nahy 'an Muqathha'at al-Arham wa al-Aqarib wa al-Ikhwan*. Kitab ini selesai ditulis pada hari Senin, 20 Syawal 1260 H, dan diterbitkan oleh Maktabah al-Turats al-Islami Pesantren Tebuireng. Secara umum, buku ini berisi tentang pentingnya membangun persaudaraan di tengah perbedaan serta bahaya memutus tali persaudaraan.

2. *Muqaddimat al-Qanun al-Asasi li Jam'iyyat Nahdlat al-'Ulama.* Karya ini berisi tentang pemikiran dasar NU, terdiri dari ayat-ayat al-Qur'an, Hadis, dan pesan-pesan penting yang melandasi berdirinya organisasi Muslim terbesar di dunia itu. Buku ini sangat penting dalam memberikan fundamen yang kuat perihal paham keagamaan yang akan dijadikan pijakan utama.
3. *Risalah fi Ta'kid al-Akhidzhi bi al-Madzhab al-Aimmat al-Arba'ah.* Kitab ini berisi tentang pentingnya berpedoman kepada empat imam madzhab, yaitu Imam Syafi'i, Imam Malik, Imam Abu Hanifah, dan Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal.
4. *Mawa'idz.* Karya ini berisi tentang nasehat bagaimana menyelesaikan masalah yang meuncul di tengah umat akibat hilangnya kebersamaan dalam membangun pemberdayaan. Karya ini pernah disiarkan dalam kongres XI NU pada 1935, yang diselenggarakan di Bandung. Karya ini juga diterjemahkan oleh Prof. Buya Hamka dalam majalah *Panji Masyarakat* Nomor 5 tanggal 15 Agustus 1959.
5. *Arba'ina Haditsan Tata'allaqu bi Jam'iyyat Nahdlat al-'Ulama.* Karya ini berisi 40 hadis yang mesti dipedomani oleh Nahdlatul Ulama. Hadis-hadis itu berisi pesan untuk meningkatkan ketakwaan dan kebersamaan dalam hidup, yang harus menjadi fondasi kuat bagi setiap umat dalam mengarungi kehidupan yang begitu sarat tantangan.
6. *al-Nur al-Mubin fi Mahibbat Sayyid al-Mursalin.* Kitab ini berisi seruan agar setiap Muslim mencintai Rasulullah saw., dengan cara mengirimkan shalawat setiap saat dan mengikuti segala ajarannya. Selain itu, kitab ini juga berisi biografi Rasulullah saw. dan akhlaknya yang sangat mulia.
7. *al-Tanbihat al-Wajibat li man Yasna' al-Mawlid bi al-Munkarat.* Kitab ini berisi peringatan tentang hal-hal yang harus diperhatikan saat merayakan maulid Nabi. Diketahui bahwa tradisi merayakan hari kelahiran Nabi Muhammad saw merupakan tradisi yang khas kalangan Muslim tradisional. Karena itu, agar perayaan berjalan dengan baik, sebagaimana tujuan utama di balik perayaan tersebut, kitab ini dapat dijadikan rujukan. Kitab ini selesai ditulis pada tanggal 14 Rabî' ats-Tsani 1355 H, yang diterbitkan pertama kali oleh Maktabah al-Turats al-Islami Pesantren Tebuireng.
8. *Risalah Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah fi Hadits al-Manfa' wa Shuruth al-Sa'ah wa Bayani Ma'jumah al-Sunnah wa al-Bid'ah.* Kitab ini merupakan salah satu karya penting karena di dalamnya diberikan distingsi paradigmatis antara sunnah dan bid'ah. Yang terpenting dalam kitab ini, Syekh Hasyim menjelaskan dengan hakikat paham Ahlussunnah waljama'ah. Kitab ini juga menjelaskan tentang tanda-tanda akhir zaman.
9. *Ziyadat Ta'liqat 'ala Mandzumah Syekh 'Abdullah ibn Yasin al-Fasuri*. Kitab ini berisi perdebatan antara Syekh Hasyim dan Syekh 'Abdullah bin Yasin.
10. *Dlaw'il Misbah fi Bayani Abkam al-Nikah.* Kitab ini berisi tentang hal-hal yang berkaitan dengan pernikahan, mulai dari aspek hukum, syarat, rukun, hingga hak-hak dalam pernikahan.
11. *al-Durar al-Muntashirah fi Masail al-Tis'a 'Asyarah.* Kitab ini berisi 19 masalah yang dibahas, khususnya tentang kajian wali, tradisi haul, dan tarekat.

12. *al-Risalah fi al-'Aqa id.* Kitab ini ditulis dalam bahasa Jawa, berisi tentang masalah-masalah tauhid.
13. *al-Risalah fi al-Tashawwuf.* Kitab ini juga ditulis dalam bahasa Jawa, berisi masalah tasawuf. Kitab ini dicetak dalam satu buku dengan kitab *al-Risalah fi al-'Aqaid*.
14. *Adab al-'Alim wa al-Muta'allim fi Ma Yahtaju ilaih al-Muta'allim fi Ahwal Ta'limihi wa Ma Yatawaqqafu 'alaib al-Mu'allim fi Maqamati Ta'limihi.* Kitab ini berisi hal-hal yang harus dipedomani oleh seorang pelajar dan pengajar, sehingga proses belajar mengajar berlangsung dengan baik dan mencapai tujuan yang diinginkan dalam dunia pendidikan. Kitab ini merupakan resume dari kitab *Adab al-Mu'allim* karya Syekh Muhammad bin Sahnun (871 M), *Ta'lim al-Muta'allim fi Tariqat al-Ta'allum* karya Syekh Burhanuddin az-Zarnuji, dan *Tadzkirat al-Shamli wa al-Mutakallim fi Adab al-'Alim wa al-Muta'allim* karya Syekh Ibnu Jama'ah.
15. *Tamyiz al-Haq min al-Bathil.* Kitab ini ditulis dalam bahasa Jawa Pegon, dan diterbitkan oleh penerbit Driyakarya Surabaya pada tahun 1959 M. Memuat tentang respon Syekh Hasyim atas tindakan dan gerakan tarekat yang dianggapnya menyimpang dari koridor syari'ah dan aqidah.

Selain ke-15 karya Syekh Hasyim tersebut, ada sejumlah karya yang masih dalam bentuk manuskrip dan belum diterbitkan. Karya-karya tersebut antara lain: *Hashiyat 'ala Fath al-Rahman bi Sharh Risalat al-Wali Ruslan li Shaikh al-Islam Zakariyya al-Anshari*, *al-Risalat al-Tawhidiyah*, *al-Qala'id fi Bayan Ma Yajib min al-'Aqaid*, *al-Risalat al-Jama'ah*, *al-Jasus fi Akhdam al-Nuqus*, dan *Manasik Sughra* (Misrawi, 2010: 96-99; Ni'am, 2011).

Dekultusasi Wali dalam Tradisi Tarekat dan Pengaruhnya di Nusantara

1. Dekultusasi Wali dalam Tradisi Tarekat

Dalam sejarah pemikiran dan gerakan, baik yang menyangkut pemikiran perorangan, golongan, aliran maupun kelompok, telah nyata bahwa tidak ada suatu pemikiran yang lahir begitu saja tanpa adanya pengaruh waktu, ruang, maupun pemikiran yang berada di luarnya. Begitu pula yang dialami Syekh Hasyim. Dalam proses pemikiran dan gerakannya yang menyangkut tasawuf, dia banyak dipengaruhi oleh pemikiran-pemikiran para tokoh yang dianggap sebagai pembimbing spiritualnya. Dengan kata lain —meminjam istilah Zamakhshari Dhofier—, para kyai selalu terjalin oleh *intellectual chains* (rantai intelektual) (Dhofier, 1982: 79). Dalam tradisi pesantren, rantai transmisi ini disebut dengan *sanad*. Sedangkan dalam dunia tasawuf atau tarekat dikenal dengan *silsilah* (Ni'am, 2009: 36).

Syekh Hasyim lahir dan besar dari lingkungan keluarga “berdarah biru”, yaitu keluarga elite kyai Jawa, yang dikenal mempunyai tingkat spiritualitas tinggi. Akan tetapi, secara *intellectual chains* (rantai intelektual), ada beberapa ulama yang dianggap sangat mempengaruhi jalan pemikiran, gerakan, dan perlakunya. Beberapa ulama tersebut adalah, Syekh Syatha, Syekh Dagistany, Syekh al-Allamah Abdul Hamid al-Darustany, dan Syekh Muhammad Syu'aib

al-Maghriby. Juga Syekh Ahmad Amin Al-Athar, Sayyid Sultan ibn Hasyim, Sayyid Ahmad ibn Hasan al-Athar, Syekh Sayyid Yamani, Sayyid Alawi ibn Ahmad al-Saqqaf, Sayyid Abbas Maliki, Sayid 'Abd Allah al-Zawawi, Sayyid Husain al-Habsyi, dan Syekh Shaleh Bafadhal, Syekh Mahfudz Termas, Syekh Mahmud Khatib al-Minangkabawy, Imam Nawawi al-Bantany, dan Kyai Khalil Bangkalan.

Di samping itu, Syekh Hasyim adalah tokoh yang membida lahirnya tradisi pemikiran yang menekankan pentingnya melestarikan nilai-nilai tradisi Islam ala *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* di bawah sebuah perkumpulan yang di beri nama Nahdlatul Ulama (NU), dan NU muncul dari nilai-nilai yang secara ideologis maupun kultural mengembangkan dan mengajarkan nilai-nilai tradisional yang menjadi panutan kebanyakan komunitas yang melahirkannya yaitu pesantren, termasuk di dalamnya adalah ajaran-ajaran dan perilaku-perilaku tasawuf. Hal demikian bisa ditelusuri melalui kitab-kitab yang diajarkan di pesantren dan para kyai dan gurunya, sehingga secara substansial dan kultural bahkan para ahli menilai bahwa NU itu adalah pesantren besar, sedang pesantren adalah NU kecil (Bisri, 1973, No. 12: 65; Muzadi, 1994, No. 03: 82; Haidar, 1995, No. 02: 59). Artinya, NU dan pesantren tidak bisa dipisahkan bukan saja secara historis, tetapi juga dilihat dari perspektif nilai-nilai, norma-norma maupun paradigma pemikiran yang diikuti dan dikembangkannya (Mujamil, 2001: 38; 2002: 62).

Paradigma pemikiran NU yang mengklaim dirinya pengikut dan pembela paham *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* adalah sudah mempunyai ketentuan dalam memahami dan menafsirkan nilai-nilai ajaran Islam. Hal ini tidak saja menyangkut pada aspek akidah (Imam Abu al-Hasan al-Asy'ari dan Imam Abu al-Manshur al-Maturidi) dan fiqh (Madzhab empat: Hanafi, Maliki, Syafi'i dan Hambali), namun juga aspek tasawuf. Sebagaimana disebutkan dalam anggaran dasar NU bahwa aspek tasawuf mengikuti antara lain Imam al-Junaid al-Baghdadi dan Imam al-Ghazali, serta imam-imam yang lain (Haidar, 1998: 74).

Konsep tasawuf al-Junaid dan al-Ghazali merupakan kritik yang menggugat radikalisme dan liberalisme tasawuf yang pernah dikembangkan Abu Yazid al-Bustami (128 H/746-877 M) dan Husain ibn Manshur al-Hallaj (244-309 H/858-921 M). Radikalisme dan liberalisme pemikiran tasawuf mereka sampai menafikan realitas konkret manusia sendiri dalam konsep *maqamat* (tingkatan), *fana'* (kehancuran), dan *baqa'* (kekekalan),⁵⁵ *ittihad* (kemanungan),⁵⁶ dan *hulul* (penitisan).⁵⁷

⁵⁵ *Fana'* secara etimologi berarti hilang, hancur; *disappear, perish, annihilate*. Sedang *baqa'* berarti tetap, terus hidup; *to remain, persevere*. Penghancuran (*fana'*) dalam istilah sufi selalu diiringi oleh *baqa'*. *Fana'* dan *baqa'* merupakan kembar dua. Sejumlah sufi mensyaratkan *fana'* pada gugurnya sifat-sifat tercela. Sementara *baqa'* disyaratkan sebagai kejelasan sifat-sifat terpuji. Barang siapa yang *fana'* dari sifat-sifat tercela, maka yang tampak adalah sifat-sifat terpuji. Sebaliknya, jika yang mengalahkan adalah sifat-sifat tercela, hina, maka sifat-sifat terpuji akan tertutupi (al-Qushairi, 1999: 67).

⁵⁶ *Ittihad* adalah suatu tingkatan dalam tasawuf, di mana seorang sufi telah merasa dirinya bersatu dengan Tuhan; suatu tingkatan di mana yang mencintai (*mubabb*) dan yang dicintai

Ajaran-ajaran tasawuf yang dikembangkan oleh para guru sufi ini selanjutnya terus mengalami transmisi dari generasi ke generasi berikutnya, melalui pesantren-pesantren yang didirikan olehnya. Ciri yang paling mencolok dari tasawuf yang dikembangkan Wali Songo, yang kemudian ditransfer para generasi berikutnya adalah bercorak *Sunni*. Sampai akhirnya tasawuf *Sunni* menjadi idola bagi kebanyakan masyarakat Indonesia. Para pewaris tasawuf *Sunni* di Indonesia, bisa disebutkan, misalnya Syekh Nur al-Din al-Raniri (w. 1685), Syekh Abd al-Shamad al-Palimbani (w. kira-kira setelah 1203/1789), dan Syekh Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari (w. 1947) (Shihab, 2001: 48). Syekh Muhammad Hasyim Asy'ari adalah tokoh yang sangat berpengaruh di Indonesia. Dia termasuk pembela *Ahl al-Sunnah wa al-Jama'ah* dan tasawuf *Sunni* di Indonesia. Selain itu, ia mewarnai tasawuf dengan citra yang lebih positif untuk menghadapi aliran-aliran lain —yang dianggap menyimpang dari pakem ajaran Islam— di Nusantara.

Pandangan Syekh Hasyim mengenai tasawuf secara khusus dapat dilihat pada dua karyanya, yaitu *al-Durar al-Muntashirah fi Masail al-Tis'a 'Asharah* (Mutuara-mutiara Tercecer tentang Sembilan Belas Masalah) dan *Tamyiz al-Haq min al-Batil* (Pembedaan yang Haq dari yang Batil), yang ditulis oleh Syekh Hasyim sekitar tahun 1340-1360-an Hijriyah. Dalam dua karyanya itu, Syekh Hasyim telah meluruskan konsepsi dan pandangan yang dianggap telah menyimpang dari ajaran tasawuf (Khuluq, 2000: 50).

Beberapa kritik kerasnya adalah menyangkut perilaku yang berkembang dalam tradisi tarekat yang dianggap oleh Syekh Hasyim sebagai sesuatu yang menyimpang dari syari'at Islam. Misalnya, Syekh Hasyim tidak suka dihormati secara berlebihan, sehingga mengakibatkan adanya kultus individu terhadapnya. Syekh Hasyim sangat mengecam perilaku seperti ini. Pengkultusan semacam ini biasanya berlaku pada dunia tarekat yang ditujukan kepada seorang *murshid* tarekat, yang dianggap mampu menghubungkan manusia (*jama'ah/murid*) dengan Tuhan. Hal ini yang kemudian mengakibatkan munculnya anggapan bahwa seorang guru tarekat (*murshid*) adalah orang keramat yang jauh dari kesalahan. Menurut Syekh Hasyim, hal demikian dianggap telah menyimpang dari ajaran syari'at Islam (Mujamil, 2002: 48; Wahid, 1995: 68; Ma'shum, 1998: 126). Hal demikian yang kemudian menyebabkan Syekh Hasyim melarang murid-muridnya memanggilnya sebagai “syekh sufi/guru tarekat” dan melarang anak cucunya untuk memperingati hari kematiannya (*haul*). Akan tetapi, di kalangan NU sendiri acara *haul* justru telah mentradisi hingga saat ini. Para *wali*

(*mabbub*) telah menjadi satu. Dalam *ittihad* yang dilihat hanya satu wujud, sungguh pun sebenarnya ada dua wujud yang terpisah satu sama lain. Persatuan di sini tidak berarti persatuan jasad sufi dengan Tuhan, tetapi merupakan persatuan mistis, sebagai puncak dari pertemuan antara yang mencintai dan yang dicintai. *Ittihad* di kalangan komunitas sufi merupakan persatuan secara mistis di mana sang makhluk bersatu dengan Sang Khalik (Nasution, 1992: 82); Gibb, tt: 63).

⁵⁷ *Hulul* adalah suatu paham yang mengatakan bahwa Tuhan memilih tubuh-tubuh manusia tertentu untuk mengambil tempat di dalamnya, setelah sifat-sifat kemanusiaan yang ada dalam tubuh itu dilenyapkan (al-Thusi, 1960: 541).

atau kyai yang meninggal dunia hampir tiap tahun di-*haul*-i (diselameti tahunan) dengan serangkaian kegiatan seperti: ziarah kubur, bacaan *tahlil*, dan ceramah agama untuk mengenang perjuangan mereka agar dapat dijadikan teladan dalam kehidupan masyarakat sehari-hari (Mujamil, 2002: 50).⁵⁸

Syekh Hasyim sangat hati-hati dalam pemberian predikat *wali* kepada seseorang atau guru sufi (*murshid*). Sikap Syekh Hasyim sebagaimana dikutip dari Musthafa Muhammad al-‘Arusi dalam *Natajj al-Afskar*, bahwa:

wali tidak akan memamerkan diri meskipun dipaksa membakar diri mereka. Siapa pun yang berkeinginan menjadi figur yang populer, maka ia tidak dapat dikatakan sebagai anggota kelompok sufi manapun” (Asy’ari, 1940: 8-9; Khuluq, 2000: 52; Madjid, 1994: 479). *Di antara cobaan (fitnah) yang merusak hamba pada umumnya ialah pengakuan guru tarekat dan pengakuan wali. Bahkan ada yang mengaku dirinya sebagai wali qutb dan ada pula yang mengaku dirinya Imam Mahdi* (Asy’ari, tt: 1). Barang siapa yang mengaku dirinya *wali*, tetapi tanpa kesaksian mengikuti syari’at Rasulullah saw., orang tersebut adalah pendusta yang membuat-buat perkara tentang Allah swt (Asy’ari, tt: 1). *Orang yang mengabarkan tentang dirinya itu wali Allah swt, orang tersebut bukanlah wali sesungguhnya, melainkan hanya wali-walian yang jelas salah sebab ia mengatakan sirr al-khususiyah (rahasia-rahasia kekhususan), dan ia membuat kedustaan atas Allah swt.*”

Syekh Hasyim juga sangat tegas dalam menyikapi pendapat kebanyakan orang tentang kewalian Kyai Khalil Bangkalan. Pertikaian antara Syekh Hasyim dan Kyai Ramli Peterongan Jombang tentang sikap mengultuskan dan memandang *wali* terhadap Kyai Khalil, amat terkenal di kalangan ulama Jawa Timur waktu itu. Padahal, Kyai Khalil adalah guru Syekh Hasyim Asy’ari sendiri (Mujamil, 2002: 49). Hal ini jelas menunjukkan bahwa Syekh Hasyim sangat menolak pernyataan kewalian seseorang. Bila ditelusuri ke belakang, ternyata Syekh Hasyim sangat terpengaruh oleh pandangan al-Ghazali, yang juga menolak pernyataan kewalian seseorang. Meskipun Syekh Hasyim tercatat sebagai pengamal dan pengikut tarekat Qadiriyyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, namun Syekh Hasyim sangat berhati-hati dalam memasuki dunia tarekat (Mujamil, 2002: 49). Labelitas kewalian muncul dalam dunia tarekat, dan ini sebagai akibat dari pengkultusan individu yang berlebihan tersebut. Dalam tradisi tarekat hal demikian biasa terjadi, apalagi seorang guru spiritual (*murshid*)-nya dianggap memiliki keanehan-keanehan. Sementara itu, para *murshid* juga tidak menolak pemberian predikat *wali* itu, sebab dianggap menguntungkan posisinya (Ni’am, 2011: 116-117).

Menurut Syekh Hasyim, syarat menjadi seorang murid tarekat saja sangat sulit, apalagi menjadi seorang *murshid*. Hal ini bisa dilihat dari persyaratan yang

⁵⁸ Hal ini tidak berarti, bahwa komunitas NU tidak mau mengikuti Kyai Hasyim dalam *haul*, tetapi NU telah mengikuti tokoh-tokoh kyai lainnya yang juga membolehkan tradisi *haul*, seperti Kyai Abdul Wahab Hasbullah dan Kyai Bisri Syansuri (Muzadi, 2005). Dengan demikian, tradisi perbedaan pendapat dan ijtihad di kalangan Nahdliyyin sebenarnya sudah tumbuh dan berkembang sejak awal pertumbuhan dan perkembangannya (Ni’am, 2011: 115).

harus dipenuhi oleh seorang murid hakiki (al-Ghazali, tt: 73), persyaratan tersebut ada delapan, yaitu: 1) Niat baik (*gashd al-shabih*). Sebelum mengikuti jalan kesufian seseorang harus memiliki niat yang lurus dan ibadah yang benar; 2) Pembimbing yang benar (*shidq al-sharij*). Di sini murid harus mengetahui kemampuan khusus (*sirr al-khususiyah*) murshidnya yang akan mengantarkannya kepada *al-Hadlrat al-Ilahiyah*; 3) Tulus rela mengikuti jalan sufi (*mardliyah*). Mereka yang mengikuti jalan sufi harus melaksanakan seluruh etika yang dianjurkan oleh agama; 4) Menjaga kesucian jiwa (*ahwal al-zakijah*). Untuk menjaga kesucian jiwa tersebut seseorang harus senantiasa mengikuti sunnah Nabi saw.; 5) Menjaga kehormatan (*hifdz al-hurmah*). Murid harus mengikuti *murshid* dan saudara seagamanya baik di dunia maupun di akhirat, tabah menghadapi sikap permusuhan dari orang lain, menghormati mereka yang lebih tinggi derajat kesufiannya dan mencintai yang lebih rendah; 6) Kemauan yang baik (*husn al-himmah*). Murid harus menjadi pelayan yang baik bagi Allah, bagi *murshid*/syekh dan sesama Muslim dengan jalan melaksanakan yang diperintahkan Allah dan menjauhi yang dilarang. Sikap semacam ini akan mengantarkan murid pada tujuan akhir dalam bertasawuf; 7) senantiasa meningkatkan semangat *raf' al-himmah*. Untuk menjangkau ma'rifah yang sesungguhnya murid harus senantiasa menjaga usahanya dengan sungguh-sungguh. Sebab tanpa usaha yang serius dan kontinyu mustahil kema'rifatan itu dapat dicapai; dan 8) Jiwa yang agung (*nufus al-'adzimah*). Murid harus berjiwa agung meningat apa yang ia cari adalah *ma'rifat al-khashshab* tentang Allah, demi kebaikan jiwanya bukan untuk dunia fana. Di samping itu, Syekh Hasyim memberikan tambahan empat lagi untuk bisa disebut murid tarekat yang hakiki, yaitu: 1) Mengambil jarak terhadap penguasa yang tidak adil (otoriter); 2) Menghormati mereka yang dengan sungguh-sungguh berusaha untuk mencari kebahagiaan di akhirat; 3) Menolong orang-orang miskin; dan 4) Melaksanakan shalat berjamaah (Asy'ari, tt: 17; Khuluq, 2000: 53; Sodiq, 2000: 7-8).⁵⁹

Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari mengutip pendapat Ibnu 'Arabi, bahwa "telah berkata Imam Muhy al-Din ibn 'Arabi, ada empat macam akhlak, siapa saja yang menjalankan keempat-empatnya, ia sungguh telah menggabungkan semua kebijakan, yaitu: 1) *ta'dzhim hurumah al-muslimin*, artinya, menjunjung kehormatan semua orang Islam; 2) *khidmat al-fuqara' wa al-masakin*, artinya, melayani kaum fakir-miskin; 3) *wa al-inshaf min nafsibi*, artinya, jujur dan adil mengenai diri sendiri; 4) *tark al-intishar laha*, artinya, tidak memberi pertolongan hanya semata karena kepentingan diri sendiri".

Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari, juga mengutip pendapat Suhrawardi, bahwa jalan kaum sufi ialah niat untuk membersihkan jiwa dan menjaga hawa nafsu, serta untuk melepaskan diri dari berbagai bentuk '*ujub, takabbur, riya'* dan *hubb al-dunya*

⁵⁹ Adapun tugas seorang syekh tarekat (*murshid*) kepada murid-muridnya, antara lain adalah: memberi bimbingan pengetahuan syariat dan pengalamannya, mengetahui karakter dan perilaku untuk dicarikan cara membimbingnya, menyimpan rahasia dan berlaku jujur, murah hati, baik sangka, ikhlas, kasih sayang, menjaga kehormatan dan kepercayaan orang padanya, harus tanggap terhadap permasalahan yang dihadapi murid, dan memberi wasiyat dan bimbingan mengenai cara hidup yang benar dan tepat (Bizawie, 2014: 217).

(kagum pada diri sendiri, sompong, suka pamrih, dan cinta kehidupan dunia), dan lain sebagainya, serta menjalani budi pekerti yang bersifat kerohanian, seperti ikhlas, rendah hati (*tawadlu'*), *tawakkal* (bersandar dan percaya kepada Tuhan), selalu memberikan perkenan hati pada setiap kejadian dan terhadap orang lain (*ridla*), dan seterusnya, serta karena hendak memperoleh ma'rifat dari Allah dan tatakrama di hadapan Allah swt.

Dari sini terlihat jelas, betapa gigihnya Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dalam membentengi Islam dan umatnya dari pengaruh-pengaruh luar yang dikhawatirkan menyimpang dari sumber-sumber Islam yang murni, yaitu al-Qur'an dan al-Sunnah. Dekultusasi Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari terhadap konsep kewalian tersebut adalah semata-mata Syekh Hasyim ingin mendudukkan posisi tarekat pada tempat yang semestinya. Dia ingin melihat praktik ketarekatannya aspek substansinya bukan aspek kulturalnya, agar tasawuf tidak lepas kendali ataupun berjalan secara liar, yang lepas dari *aqidah-syari'at-tashawwuf* (Asy'ari, 1940; Ni'am, 2011).

2. Pengaruh Dekultusasi *Wali* Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari di Nusantara

Ada hal menarik untuk dikemukakan di sini, adalah terkait dengan pengaruh Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari dalam upaya dekultusasi konsep kewalian dalam tradisi tarekat, khususnya di kalangan warga Nahdliyin (NU). Di dalam praktik ketarekatannya, upaya dekultusasi yang dilakukan oleh Syekh Hasyim ternyata tidak begitu memiliki pengaruh atau implikasi luas di kalangan masyarakat Nusantara, khususnya warga NU. Hal ini patut menjadi kajian mengingat Syekh Hasyim tidak hanya dicatat dalam sejarah Nusantara, sebagai tokoh sentral dan pendiri NU. Namun dia juga sebagai ulama besar Nusantara dan pendiri bangsa ini. Akan tetapi, khusus terkait dengan pandangan tentang dekultusasi *wali* dalam tradisi tarekat justru tidak memiliki pengaruh signifikan dalam praktik ketarekatannya di Nusantara, bahkan cenderung diabaikan oleh para pengikutnya. Padahal NU telah memiliki sejumlah tarekat yang tergabung dalam *Jam'iyyah Abhl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyah*.⁶⁰

Terkait dengan hal tersebut, kiranya dapat diajukan beberapa tesis, antara lain: Pertama, Syekh Hasyim dikenal sebagai tokoh ahli hadis yang memiliki *sanad* (mata rantai intelektual) langsung dari Syekh Mahfudz al-Termasi, sehingga

⁶⁰ Menurut catatan Endang Turmudzi, ada 44 aliran tarekat yang diakui oleh kyai NU sebagai tarekat Mu'tabarah yang tergabung dalam *Jam'iyyah Abhl al-Thariqah al-Mu'tabarah al-Nahdliyah*, yaitu: Tarekat Rumaniyah, Rifaiyah, Sa'diyah, Bakriyah, Juztiyah, Umariyah, Alawiyah, Abbasiyah, Zainiyah, Dasuqiyah, Akbariyah, Bayumiyah, Malamiyah, Ghaibiyah, Tijaniyah, Uwaesiyah, Idrisiyah, Samaniyah, Buhuriyah, Usaqiyah, Kobrowiyah, Maulawiyah, Jalwatiyah, Barumiyah, Ghazaliyah, Hamzawiyah, Haddasiyah, Mathuliyah, Sumbuliyah, Idrusiyah, Utsmaniayah, Syadziliyah, Sya'baniyah, Kalhaniyah, Khodziriyah, Syattariyah, Khalwatiyah, Ba'dasiyah, Sukhrowardiyyah, Ahmadiyah, Isawiyah Ghorbiyah, Thuruq Akbaril Auliyah, Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah, dan Thariqatul Muslimin. Dari 44 aliran tarekat tersebut, hanya ada 7 aliran tarekat yang berkembang di Indonesia, yaitu: Qadiriyah, Naqsyabandiyah, Tijaniyah, Syadziliyah, Khalidiyah, Syattariyah, dan Khalwatiyyah. Sedangkan tarekat Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah adalah gerakan tarekat yang paling terkenal di Indonesia, berdasarkan pengikutnya yang besar (Turmuizi, 2004: 67).

spesialisasi hadis hampir selalu melekat pada diri Syekh Hasyim. Oleh karena itu, sebagian ummat Islam Nusantara menganggap bahwa Syekh Hasyim adalah seorang tokoh hadis Nusantara, bukan tokoh/ulama tasawuf/tarekat; sehingga apapun yang menjadi pandangan Syekh Hasyim terkait dengan konsepsi tasawuf —termasuk di dalamnya konsep dekultusisasi *wali* dalam tradisi tarekat— oleh mereka bukan merupakan kualifikasi Syekh Hasyim. Konsekuensinya adalah pandangan dekultulisasi *wali* Syekh Hasyim tidak mesti diikuti oleh warganya.

Kedua, Syekh Hasyim walaupun pernah belajar dan mengamalkan tarekat *Qadiriyah wa Naqsyabandiyah* dari sanad Syekh Nawawi al-Banten dan Syekh Ahmad Khatib Sambas, namun dia dalam perjalanan berikutnya bukanlah seorang guru sufi (*murshid*). Sebab bagi Syekh Hasyim sebagai guru sufi (*murshid*) adalah amanah yang sangat berat, dan dia merasa jabatan itu tidak layak disandang olehnya. Oleh karenanya, dia tidak mau dipanggil oleh murid-muridnya sebagai "Syekh sufi (*murshid*)". Menurut Syekh Hasyim, panggilan tersebut akan membawa konsekuensi kepada penghormatan yang berlebihan (kultus individu), dan hal ini sangat dilarang dalam ajaran agama —sebagaimana dijelaskan pada sub bahasan sebelumnya. Inilah yang kemudian oleh kebanyakan ulama tarekat di NU dan warganya memandang bahwa pandangan dekultusisasi *wali* dalam tradisi tarekat yang dikonsepsikan Syekh Hasyim, tidak mesti diikuti.

Ketiga, Syekh Hasyim adalah satu tokoh ulama di antara tokoh ulama Nusantara lainnya, khususnya di NU. Di samping ada Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari yang dikenal sebagai ulama hadis, terdapat juga K.H. Abdul Wahab Hasbullah yang dikenal sebagai ulama fiqh yang lebih inklusif, dan K.H. Bisri Syamsuri yang dikenal sebagai ulama fiqh yang lebih eksklusif. Ketiga tokoh ini dikenal tiga serangkai ulama dari Jombang, yang memiliki pandangan agak berbeda dalam menyikapi fenomena keummatan dan keberagamaan. Ketiganya juga sangat dihormati dan menjadi panutan bagi umat Islam Nusantara, khususnya warga NU. Walaupun demikian, dalam hal-hal tertentu warga NU telah memiliki pandangan kritis terhadapnya, misalnya terkait dengan dekultulisasi *wali* dalam tradisi tarekat oleh Syekh Hasyim tadi, yang ternyata tidak diikuti oleh seluruh warganya. Warga NU kebanyakan lebih memilih dan mengikuti pandangan kedua ulama terakhir, yang dianggapnya memiliki pandangan lebih fleksibel dan lebih akomodatif, yaitu K.H. Wahab Hasbullah dan K.H. Bisri Syamsuri, terutama dalam menyikapi fenomena keberagamaan (konsep kewalian, tradisi *haul*, dan lain-lain) yang telah mentradisi di lingkungan warga Nahdliyin (NU) sejak kurun yang sangat lama. Inilah yang menjadi penyebab upaya dekultusisasi *wali* dalam tradisi tarekat oleh Syekh Hasyim tampak kurang membumi di kalangan umat Islam Nusantara, khususnya di lingkungan NU.

Penutup

Pandangan tasawuf —khususnya konsepsi kewalian dalam tradisi tarekat— Syekh Hasyim Asy'ari di atas, kiranya sangat jelas bahwa pandangan dan pemikiran Syekh Hasyim adalah sangat *Sunnisme*. Sebab dalam domain pemikiran *Sunni*, antara 'aqidah, syari'at, dan tasawuf merupakan tiga aspek yang

mesti dipahami dan dijalankan secara berkelindan dan berkesinambungan. Ketiganya tidak boleh dijalankan secara terpisah-pisah, dan dipandang sebelah mata. Hal ini sejalan seirama dengan pemikiran tasawuf yang telah dikembangkan oleh para pendahulu Syekh Hasyim, seperti al-Junaid, al-Ghazali, al-Qushairi, dan dilanjutkan oleh para Wali Songo di Nusantara.⁶¹ Jika ketiga domain ajaran Islam tersebut dipahami dan dijalankan secara terpisah, maka yang terjadi adalah pemahaman Islam secara parsial, sehingga totalitas ajaran Islam menjadi tereduksi.

Pandangan di atas, menunjukkan betapa konsistennya Syekh Hasyim dalam mempertahankan ke-*sunni*-annya. Bagi Syekh Hasyim, penghormatan yang berlebihan terhadap guru sufi (*murshid*) dalam tradisi tarekat dianggapnya sebagai sebuah penyimpangan, karena bertentangan dengan prinsip ajaran Islam sebagaimana dikemukakan di atas. Oleh karena itu, ummat Islam harus menjauhi segala bentuk penyimpangan, antara lain melalui kultusasi *wali* dalam tarekat tersebut. Walaupun demikian dalam realitas keberagamaan (khususnya di dalam tarekat) sendiri ternyata upaya dekultusasi Syekh Hasyim tidak memberikan pengaruh signifikan dalam praktik ketarekatan di Nusantara.

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⁶¹ Terkait hubungan erat antara *syari'at* dengan *haqiqat* (tasawuf), al-Qushairi mengatakan: "*syari'at* itu perintah untuk melaksanakan ibadah, sedang *haqiqat* menghayati kebesaran Tuhan (dalam ibadah). Maka setiap *syari'at* yang tidak diperkuat dengan *haqiqat* tidak diterima (*ghairu maqbulin*); dan setiap *haqiqat* yang tidak terkait dengan *syari'at*, pasti tidak menghasilkan apa-apa (*ghairu mahshulin*) (al-Qushairi, tt: 82-83).

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OLOH SALAM: AN ISLAMIC DAYAK IDENTITY IN CENTRAL KALIMANTAN

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Abstract: *Hypothesis Mallinckrodt (1928) which stated that the indigenous people of Kalimantan were Dayaks non-Muslims is a misleading proposition. It must be recognized that in reality there are Dayak tribes who have converted to Islam just before the arrival of colonists in earth of Kalimantan. One of the Dayak tribe is Dayak Bakumpai in Central Kalimantan which most or even believed to be one hundred percent of them are followers of Islam. This fact makes Mallinckrodt hypothesis is failed. Alternation beliefs of some Dayaks into Islam interesting to be discussed. Among people of Central Kalimantan Dayaks who have converted to Islam was called Oloh Salam. The interesting thing in the movement of the belief that the emergence of new phenomena such as syncretism between religions and cultures. It being given its own color which is typical of the people of Borneo. This distinction is reflected in the culture of oloh salam regards as his supporters in the land of Dayak Kalimantan, Central Kalimantan in particular. This paper will discuss what and who oloh salam as well as what is interesting thing that distinguishes the phenomenon from other places in Indonesia.*

Keywords: *Oloh Salam, Islamic Dayak, Central Kalimantan*

Introduction

Borneo or during the reign of Majapahit known as Tanjongpura, Tembagapura and Bakulapura is the 3rd largest island in the world. The word of Tanjongpura or Kalimantan itself called several times in Negarakertagama manuscript written in the early 14th century. Borneo has a variety of endemic plants and animals. Inhabited by various tribes from different regions in the archipelago. But the native tribes of Borneo itself stems from one family called the Old Malay or Protomelayu develop into Dayak and Banjar. But the advent of colonialism between Dayak and Banjar distinction becomes polarized because of the Netherlands' divide rule. As a result of the past political until now still leaves a bad assumption to one another. As prejudiced as the other tribes in Indonesia between Java and Sundanese, Batak and Minang, Sasak and Bali, etc. Polarization did not stop there, scientific studies should think precisely the objective of the colonial period in favor of the ruling, which often disturb the diversity of the life of the archipelago. As Gertz polarize *abangan* and *santri*. Mallincrodt in Borneo differentiate Dayak and Melayu with distinction through

religious roots. Dayak people who had converted to Islam called the Malays while Dayak who still belief in the old religion called Dayak. This distinction among linguistic considered reckless because the fundamental issues in identifying the identity is associated with a language and not a religion. When facing status Dayak Iban, Dayak Bukit, Dayak Meratus still the old religion and the Malay language while on the other side of the Dayak Bakumpai, Katingan, Sampit, Baamang Muslim is not appropriate if the status is identified through religious discrimination.

One important thing that can be seen from the crux of identifying the status above is already happening Islam accommodation in Kalimantan is not only relevant to the Banjar but also by the Dayak community. To see the actualization of Islamic values in the Dayak culture, this paper will reveal life experiences as part of Dayakness and the owner of *Dayak* culture itself in Central Kalimantan.

In an effort to understand and explore the meaning of social phenomena, cultural and religious, both of which appear explicitly or implicitly, the author uses inductive reasoning-naturalistic paradigm (Creswell, 2014 ; Wilson, 1977).

The reasoning allows authors observe, and to further describe straightly emic perspective that is rich in nuance and interpretation hermeneutic (Burgess, 1985). The study results through specific reasoning is more characterized by micro ethnographic and descriptive. All of these approaches, cannot be separated from efforts to avoid the occurrence of the circumstances in which the author caught in the reflection and the only solution is a manifestation of the fruit of the mind, desires and feelings are subjective-mere personal.

Furthermore, the authors also limit the focus of observation, experience, and focused only on the reflective appreciation of the phenomena that appear as the actualization of the interaction of Islamic values in the Dayak culture. That is, the author simply describes the meaning of the phenomenon that emerged after the entry and spread of Islam among the Dayak in Kalimantan, especially in Central Kalimantan in general; whereas the phenomena that appear before the advent of Islam, does not include those that the authors have observed in this study.

Etymological Aspects Of Dayak Terms

Most of the experts interpret the meaning of Dayak with various viewpoints such as Hose & Dougell (1912) which states that the word 'Dayak' or 'Daya' comes from Heban language meaning humans. While other experts such as Mjoeberg in Coomans (1987) found that Dayak meaning is inland. It is possible to Mjoeberg's statements are based on the reality of Dayak life who mostly live in rural or precisely in the area of the headwaters. Like naming Dayak Mahakam is Dayak who living in Mahakam river upstream. Some other experts also found Dayak word meaning 'daya' or powers as listed in Indonesian official dictionaries. However, the authors have very different opinions about the meaning and origin of the name Dayak itself.

In line with the writer's observation and analysis of Qalyubi (2015) that the word Daya or Dayak is the morphological processes of word **Dahat* or **DəRaq* of Proto Austronesian language, which means "land". Here's an explanation of the process of linguistics innovation.

PAN **DəRaq*>(Ngaju Dayak Language) Daya?>Dayak "landline"

PAN **KəRiŋ*>(Ngaju Dayak Language) Kkeyaq "dry"

In Proto Austronesian consonant phonemes *R tend to innovate to /y/ in the Ngaju Dayak language as seen in the two examples above.

In the limited example above if *Dayak* word translated as "land" it is closer to Dayak as the real meaning. Because of the Dayak people generally live closer to the culture of the land that is farming.

Emerging Phenomenon Of *Oloh Salam*

There is no clear indication when the emergence of the term *olah salam* regards the Dayak culture, but from a variety of data sources can be presumed that the emergence of the term *olah salam* can be tracked from the beginning of Islam in Kalimantan or after the arrival of the colonials in Borneo through devide politics distinguish between one tribe against another, as well as the formation of the *Lemu Malgy* village inhabited by Dayaks who had converted to Islam, while the village is inhabited by Christian or *helo* called *Lemu Dayak* village. This is one form of systemic polarization committed by colonial on earth Kalimantan (Kementrian Penerangan, 1953) Islam arrived in Kalimantan around the 13th century together with the emergence of Islam in the Institutional as found in Aceh precisely in 1292 when the inaugural Sultan Malikussaleh. It can be traced to the use of different vocabulary Persian culture that spread almost complete in Aceh and Kalimantan, among others, *bandar*, *barzanji*, *tajin*, *saparan*, *sjah*, etc. *Sjah* usage can be tracked in Kalimantan, especially since the establishment of the first kingdom in South Kalimantan which Dipa Nagara built by Ampu Djatmaka as the first king with the title of Maharadja. Dipa Nagara period coincides with the period during the Majapahit and then stated, in Canto XIII Kertagama State, as one of the Majapahit region. The warrior kingdom Dipa Nagara call Ampu Djatmaka with Sjah Alam as can be seen in Hikajat Bandjar (Ras, 1968). However, from an accurate source said that Islam into an ideology of state institutions or kingdoms in the mid XIV century, precisely during the reign of Maharaja Sultan Adji in the year 1360-1420 which is Raja Kutai Martapura king who replaced the previous monarch, King Paduka Batara Agung Nira. The reign of Maharaja Sultan Adji conjunction with Rajasa dynasty that Hayam Wuruk highly of the renowned at the time.

Other facts of Islam in Central Kalimantan can also be studied in Dayak mythology that tell their daughter Princess Campa in relation to the creation *Tajan* or *pot*. Princess Campa is the consort of Sri Sultan Dara Pethak Kertarajasa Jayawardhana which is the first king of Majapahit, which was known by the name Raden Wijaya (1293-1309) (Janutama, 2010). These stories are also in Javanese literary texts such as Fibre *Kanda* (Lombard, 1981). Campa

Princess's tomb complex contained in the Islamic cemetery located in the northeast corner swimming *Segaran*, Trowulan and labeled with the number of year 1230 Saka = 1308 AD. Based on Graaf & Pigeaud explained that Princess Campa always associated with the Islamization of Java island, and has two nephews (Raden Rahmat and Raden Pandita) which later became the imam at Masjid Tandes (Gresik) and Surabaya , Raden Rahmat is married to a daughter of the Duke of Tuban and was awarded two sons namely Sunan Drajat and Sunan Bonang who later went on Islamization of east coast of the island of Java (De Graaf & Th. G.Th.Pigeaud, 1974). From the evidence we can conclude that the era of Maharaja Sultan Adji and Princess Campa range in almost the same century that is the century XIII - XIV.

Signs that Islam in Kalimantan diaspora massively in the 14-15 century was also corroborated by linguistic data expressed by Collins (1990) quoted by Reid (1988) that the period referred to as "the age of commerce", looks at the ports of Nusantara that Malay traders use Malay as the medium of instruction. The traders are the ones who are Muslims.

Not only local traders as Banjar who had previously converted to Islam which many in the spread of Islam to the Dayak, but also the Sufi wanderer clicking Islamize local rulers followed by their people. The mystic wanderer who had stopped at the Dayak land among others Datu panghulu Tuan Pandak (Haji Ibrahim Muhammad Sadar) in Muara Teweh, Datu Nabe in Sampit, Sheikh Basiri bin Sayidullah and H.Abdurrahman bin H.Abdullah Bugis in Sampit, Datu Purbaya, Datu Kartasura, and others. All mystic wanderer can still be seen their grave is maintained quite well in Central Kalimantan.

Oloh salam in Central Kalimantan is the internal designation Dayaks who still adhere to the *helo* religion or ancestors religion call their relatives who had converted to Islam. This phenomenon is very common, especially in regions of Kalimantan such as West Kalimantan as the Dayak Kendayan, Taman, Embaloh or Iban who had converted to Islam as *Senganan*. *Senganan* term itself comes from the Dayak language means 'marine' or 'coastal'. *Sea* in terms of anthropological reference to the ethnic Malays who in this case are Muslims, so the Dayak tribes known as land cultured who switched from land cultured to coastal is called as *Senganan*. Similarly, the Dayak tribe located in East Kalimantan as the Dayak Benuaq, Bentian, Alas, Danum, and others who have embraced Islam known as *Halog* linguistically this name has not met the real meaning but this term is generally known in the community especially Kalimantan East Kalimantan. In South Kalimantan inhabited by ethnic Malays in general and Islam are synonymous with other community members such as the Dayaks Meratus or Bukit Dayak, Dayak Maanyan still original religious or local religious Borneo. If a Dayak Meratus and Maanyan has changed the belief they will generally referred to as people *hakey* which in Maanyan meaning "that so". The term *Hakey* has a unique folktimologi in a story. When the king's messengers Banjar invited to a community event that ritual Ijambe Maanyaan then the king's messengers Islamic Banjar are treated to foods derived from processed pork envoy then politely refused and explain why. Hearing a polite

rejection accompanied by an explanation of the vote Maanyan spontaneously replied the Banjar envoy explanation by saying "*o..hakabiye sd'*" meaning 'oh, is that'. So since these events if a Maanyan has embraced Islam (do not eat pork) then he will be referred to as *Hakey* which means do not eat pork.

In other countries such as Vietnam were also found such a phenomenon, such as the mention of *Cam Bani* or *Cam Asalam* for Campa people who had converted to Islam. While that is still embraced Hinduism called *Cam Jat* (Cabaton, 1981).

While in Malaysia Muslims called Malays and Malaysians who still embraced old religion called the '*original people*'. In this case it is clear that the term *Oloh Salam* distinguished by *Dayak* did not contain anthropological meaning as distinct ethnic groups, but rather a socio-religious.

Syncretism In Ritual Of *Oloh Salam*

The amount of water in the form of large rivers rope system that becomes the access road in Borneo provide enormous influence for the development of indigenous people of Dayak and Banjar those are both economically, socially, and culturally. Likewise, the conversion process of Dayak tribal religion from *hebo* religions (Kaharingan) to Islam was an impact from the opening lines of a long stream of *pahuluan* (up river) to downstream.

Although *oloh salam* regards as Dayaknese had chosen the path of Islam but when they perform the religion ritual they also perform rituals mixed with religious affiliations before. How do Dayak expression that has been converted to Islam associated with social and cultural life. There is a tendency of formation of social and cultural life behavior patterns that are typical Dayak Islam. As seen in the various dimensions of life ritual such as in the form of *gawi belum* 'life ritual' such as the birth ritual, medicine, marriage, sea alms and *gawi matei* 'death ritual' such as funeral ritual.

1. *Oloh Salam* in Birth Ritual.

Birth ritual in regards of *oloh salam* culture is one of the important ceremony. Therefore, if a woman was pregnant three months, since he was already seized with the disease abstinence. Many of the prohibition that include: forbidden dusk, bathing at sunset, sitting on the doorstep. When the content of tread 6 months, abstinence also added a lot. For example, should not be streaked hair, banned nailing, food was limited too, should not eat spicy or vegetables that contain latex, not eating crabs, etc. The husband abstain anyway, should not cut down trees, dipping the pole, let alone kill an animal. Abstinence is done solely because superstitious, that beyond this universe there are supernatural in which the wandering spirits of good and evil. The evil spirits are always on the prowl, including a pregnant mother. With this abstinence can protect the baby, whether unborn or newborn, because it is still weak in order not to be bothered by an evil spirit.

When *oloh salam* women about to give birth, a shaman old woman helped deliver the baby. Because the shaman old woman considered to have magical powers. The reading of Islamic prayers performed by burning incense and sow

yellow rice as guarding themselves to reject the evil spirits that would interfere with the baby's birth. During and after the time of delivery, the husband made a fire in the front yard and keep the fire blazing remain lit all the time for maghrib for seven consecutive days, it is meant not to be disturbed demons (kuyang) who likes takes blood of the new baby.

Newborns baby washed and cleaned, while the umbilical cord is cut with a sharp knife on a silver money, ringgit or rupiah, and then the baby's body wrapped with a rope made from the forest root. Then the father of the baby will deliver adzan and iqomat on the baby's right ears and left in turns. During the 7 days after the birth of the baby will be cared for by a healer who helped birth. *Tambuni* or placenta cleaned and salt then put in jars of pottery along with stationery pencils, books, plus a mirror if it's a girl and planted in the front yard. The objects that accompany this meant that in the future the newborns baby become people who love to write, read and smart preening if female.

When the baby was 7 days (40 days for the Dayak people who are *belo*) *oloh salam* held a ceremony *tasmiah* (Arabic: tasmia "naming the baby") conducted by the ability of the family only. The name commonly given to *oloh salam* infants is a combination of the name of Islam and Dayak like: Hidayatullah S. Kurik, Fatah F. Nahan, Komarudin Usop, Wahyudin Usop, Durtje Durasit, Asriansyah S. Mawung, Rahmadi Lentam, etc. In a *tasmiah* ritual baby's hair is cut placed in the coconut, then the child showered with flower water mixed fragrances that can give a name given fragrance like a flower, prayed to be healthy and be a cautious of child.

2. *Oloh Salam* in Medical Ritual.

Barito river flow in the region, namely: Muarateweh, Buntok, Puruk Cahu which are a residential area of Bakumpai Dayak one of sub Dayak Ngaju. Bakumpai Dayak is one of dayak tribe who had converted to Islam and their arts sinkretise between Dayak traditions and Islam are still visible as in their ritual called Badewa. Ritual Badewa in Dayak Bakumpai traditions is believed to be a medium to heal sick people by inviting a wide variety of gods who dwell in various streams and sacred places which are located in different parts of Central Kalimantan. At the beginning of the ceremony Badewa name of Allah, the prophet, and friend mentioned; nevertheless also called forests genie, mountains, rivers, the spirits of deceased ancestors, and especially the genie across, gods, and protector. Here's an overview of Mantra *badewa*:

Assalamualaikum Abu Baisar (*Abu Bakar?*), *Assalamualaikum Nabi Khairil* (*Nabi Khidir*), *Assalamualaikum Bandar Saleh*, *Bandar Salam*, *Budia Saleh*, *Budia Salam*. *Assalamualaikum Samar Jaya*, *Samar Sakti*, *Tabib Jaya*, *Tabib Kalolongan*, *Tabib Kaindraan*.

Meaning :

"(greetings) to Abu Bakr (friend), (greeting) to the Prophet Khidr. (Greeting) to the holy city, the city of Islam, pious gratitude, gratitude that Islam. (Greeting) to the glorious Semar, Semar is magic, physician Jaya, Kalolongan physician, the physician who was in the cliffs large rivers".

a. Nah tuh ikey arti mangahan ikau arti akan bapanggil-panggil atau arti basarursu ka kayangan surgaloka nah ini artia aku mambakar manyan dupa astagi kumpak-kumpakan, ambul-ambulan akan artiy mangahan uluh arti ji uluh kiyangan surgaloka. Nah tuh baras kuning bukan talimbak dari parapatan, baras kuning bukan tabalik dari panampian, tuh baras kuning akan bapanggil-panggil atau bakakahau.

Meaning :

“Now we will call you meant to call or invite the inhabitants of heaven surgaloka (this request is accompanied by the burning of incense and followed with yellow rice sowing”.

b. Yaku artiy ya balaku maminjam arti si samar jaya, samar sakti, tabib jaya tabib kalolongan, tabib kaindraan, akan arti bapanggil-panggil atau bakakahau. Nah tuh yaku artiy mamarentah ikau akan mangahan arti ye si gaman. Si gaman jituh auh uluh ji si gunung lumut si gunung kuminting, si gunung kalalau, si gaman tuh uluh tub akan manunggu ikau pabila ikau dumah. Ela melay ela tame si huang huma, ikau melay si luar huma. Engkeh ada uluh ji handak babnat durhaka, handak babnat curang, nah tuh ikau tuh arti ya akan manjaga, imbit hambarat ikau artiy sang sakabeh, imbit hambarat ikau sang sakatah, mudun siji mudun sadeyanya.

Meaning :

“With Semar intermediary (the puppet characters) to summon the spirits of the mountain ruler (the uniformity), which served as the guardian spirit ritual”.

Some of Badewa spell of text above contain Islamic elements like opening an Islamic greeting to one of the companions of the Prophet Muhammad and the Prophet Khidr. Prophet Khidr in the Dayak culture is regarded as the ruler of water and is married with *Batara Gangga*'s daughter in the country under the sea, the daughter born later incarnate on earth as Princess Junjung Buih, Prophet Khidr be miraculous father-in-law of Suryanata. He who disguised himself as a nomad in white robes who marry Princess Junjung Buih with Suryanata.

Semar is regarded as the epitome of a warrior who has lofty ideals and anyone who followed his dream must succeed. With the presence of symbols in ritual badewa semar figure is expected that ritual medical treatment went well and managed to cure the sick.

3. Olob Salam in the Marriage Ritual

The marriage ritual is preceded by a cover (*hakumbang auh*) conducted by representatives of the male to the female side of the family. If the intention of applying it accepted then inaugurated in engagement with the delivery of a rock *Pisek* some money and clothes *Sinde mendeng* or a set of women's clothes complete, this case also commonly referred as *kawin gantung*. Followed by talks of making a marriage license called *pelek* complete with the terms and sanctions should be done if something happens in the future. The terms contained in the letter of the *pelek* is all the request of the woman to be met by the male. It is usually in the form of land, complete with crockery, jewelery, gold, some money for the bride and a few items that cater to the parents of bride as a

token of thanks for bringing up the bride. While the sanctions lists obligation to fully restore all of the terms in the letter of the *pelek* if the woman asks for a divorce from her husband. Conversely husband can not ask for it back if the husband divorced his wife.

On the day that has been agreed upon, both the bride carry out the consent granted by Islam in front of the *Penghulu* with the dowry of Quran and a set of prayer equipments. Furthermore, the groom escorted to the bride's home. Each of the bride and groom sitting on a gong while watching the ceremony in the terms stated in the letter of the *pelek* and the event closed with a prayer and ritual meal together.

4. *Olob Salam* in the Sea Alms Ritual

Sea alms ritual commonly done by people who live in the sea coast, like in Sampit and Samuda. The ceremony is usually done by the fishermen to give alms to the sea god which called *mapanretasi*. It is intended they would get a lot of fish in the sea, because the gods of the sea the owner of the fish has been given the part. Prayers are being said in the event *mapanretasi* is a combination of spells and prayers of Islam.

5. *Olob Salam* in *Saparan* Ritual

Sapar for *olob salam* is a month in which many incidents of people being eaten by a crocodile in the river, so it should be held a ritual refuse reinforcements with shared bath in the river is also called *Sapar* bath. The boys and girls in Sampit usually do *Sapar* bath by swimming to cross the river *Mentaya* without using float. Children dare to do this because his swimsuit have been attached the *sawang*'s leaf that have been written 'Basmallah' sentence written in Arabic. *Sawang* leaf is a sacred leaf planted on graves as a repellent reinforcements from evil spirits of people who have died, it also serves as a marker of the cemetery area. *Sawang* leaf which has been written *Basmallah* is considered to have magical powers as an antidote to plague especially the danger of crocodiles jaws in the river.

6. *Olob Salam* in Death Ritual

Dead in Dayaks terms called *nihau* "lost". Dayaks believe man has a soul that is bound loosely on the body. The body of a wrap or place for the soul. If the soul separated from the bond it will go from the body. So death is the loss of the soul from the body wrap.

A tradition in the Dayak community if they heard the news of the death of its citizens, will immediately stop the work they are doing. They immediately went to the funeral home, to provide moral support for the families left behind. They came with sorrow donation in form of their own crops. Having come into the funeral home they approached and saw the corpse's face for the last time, because doing so is believed to be rewarded. The body is located in the middle of the house and surrounded by relatives and family, before it is washed. Because after the Islamic bathed and shrouded corpse is forbidden to be open again to be seen by mourners. At the time of the corpse is bathed in white

netting stretched over it is intended that evil spirits can not disturb baptism ceremony corpse.

The coffin was called the *tabla*. *Tabla* is loan words from Arabic which means tambourine, percussion instruments are made of hardwood, round ½ to ¾ meter long and middle perforated. Its surface is covered with dried animal skins were tied up. When struck distinctive sounds (Jones, 2008). *Tabla* was made at that time also worked together. *Tabla* made of tree trunks were halved and scraped in the middle for a place to put the bodies. In line with the decrease in large trees, then the *tabla* now made of boards that have been smoothed and shaped rectangular box. After the *tabla* is completed, placed next to the corpse wait until it's time to put the corpse in a *tabla*, to be brought to the nearest mosque to pray before burial.

7. *Oloh Salam* in Art Matting

Art of weaving is an obligation for dayaks girls. The materials are usually from woven rattan and leaves *purun*. The most important ingredients that include the types of *pandan* leaves, the thorns in the sides cut out, then made the bands as wide as 2 centimeters mat plaiting materials for harvest, which can only be used for one year as a pedestal for drying rice. The strongest mat is made of rattan cleaved by a wide or smooth, depending on whether rough or smooth mat. Mat or *amak* made of rattan which has been finely sharpened typically patterned. Mat patterned is usually used as wall hangings. The motifs used are the epitome of crisp stems or dayak traditional houses *betang*, or pictures of mosques and used as a prayer rug. Besides woven mats, Dayak woman in Kotawaringin also serving a hood made of woven wall hangings that are usually given motif of strings of beads with lafadz Allah and Muhammad.

8. Elements of Harmony between *Oloh Salam* and other Religious

Oloh Salam be recognized and respected as brothers by their relatives who are still belief in religious *helo* or *Kaharingan*. It can be seen, for example, when the *Kaharingan* hold traditional ceremonies, *oloh salam* also invited and provided a place and a special eating utensils. Likewise, livestock (beef and chicken) were used at a party slaughtered and cooked according to the rule of Islam. If *oloh salam* being a guest and stay at the homes of people *Kaharingan* in the interior, it will be asked to pray for them in Islam, because they feel comfortable if recited prayers by *oloh salam*.

The Dayaks local belief is *Kaharingan*. It have an element of Islam in their local beliefs like the existence of one God (monotheistic) as *Ranying Mahatala* which has sole power to create heaven and earth and its contents (Anonymous, 2007). *Ranying* derived from the Sanskrit language meaning light (Macdonell, 1924). While the term *Mahatala* is a term derived from the words *Maha* meaning ‘the exalted’ and Allah Ta’ala is ‘God’ are taken from Arabic. *Mahatala* have some good spirits as the angel in charge of keeping the welfare and safety of humans. Such as *King Uju Hakanduang* carrier God’s teachings, *Raja Tunggal Sangumang* bring fortune, *Raving Tempun Telon* drove spirit to heaven, the King of death and take care of people’s life, *King Entai Nyahu* grave

keeper. Mythological *Nyai Siti Panaturan* as mentioned in the books of Arabic origin that Eve as one of the human embryo that inhabit the earth. There is also a myth *Mangku Amat Sangen* incarnate *Mahatala* treasure given to mankind on earth. *Amat* word comes from the Arabic meaning mercy of fortune given by God for man to carry out his life well.

Conclusion

From the description and examples above, it can be concluded that the actualization of Islamic values in the Dayak culture embodied in *Oloh Salam*. The patterns of tolerance in social interaction through a process of both persuasive and friendly that goes from generation to generation. It occurs naturally because in the essence of Islam values has been present in the Dayak culture.

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KULIWA: ISLAM DAN TRADISI LOKAL NELAYAN MANDAR DI PAMBUSUANG SULAWESI BARAT

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Abstrak: *Nelayan Mandar Pampusuang Sulawesi Barat memiliki banyak varian tradisi. Salah satunya adalah tradisi kuliwa. Hingga kini tradisi tersebut tetap terpelihara di kalangan nelayan Mandar. Makna kuliwa dalam kaitannya dengan ritual nelayan adalah doa selamatan. Doa selamatan ini dilakukan dengan harapan tatanan hidup nelayan Mandar senantiasa seimbang dan tidak saling mengganggu dan saling merusak. Pelaksanaan kuliwa, melibatkan keluarga, kerabat, sahabat, para sawi dan tetangga. Keterlibatan mereka bermakna solidaritas yang tinggi atas dasar nilai kekeluargaan. Penyelenggaraan kuliwa dilakukan dalam dua pola. Pertama, pembacaan barazanji dalam perahu yang dirangkai dengan massissing posiq lopi yang diikuti pembacaan barazanji di rumah ponggawa lopi, selanjutnya makan bersama. Pola kedua, pembacaan barazanji di rumah ponggawa lopi diikuti dengan makan bersama lalu ditutup dengan doa.*

Kata Kunci : Kuliwa, Islam, Tradisi, Nelayan.

Pendahuluan

Indonesia merupakan negara kepulauan terbesar di dunia yang terdiri dari ribuan pulau yang dikelilingi oleh lautan luas. Jumlah pulau di Indonesia yang diyakini selama ini adalah 17.500 meliputi wilayah laut yurisdiksi nasional lebih kurang 5,8 juta km² atau 75% dengan garis pantai terpanjang kedua di dunia yaitu 95.181 km. Luas daratan 1,9 juta km² sama dengan 190 juta km² atau 25% dari luas wilayah Indonesia. (Dahuri, 2013).

Wilayah laut Indonesia yang demikian luas dengan potensi perikanan yang amat besar itu dihuni oleh suku bangsa yang beraneka ragam. Jumlah suku bangsa yang mendiami gugusan pulau yang membentang dari Sabang sampai Merauke sebanyak 1.128 suku bangsa. Sementara jumlah nelayan hanya 2,2 juta orang. Walau jumlah nelayan yang masih demikian sedikit dan hasil tangkapan ikan yang belum maksimal tetapi sudah mampu menangkap hingga 13,4 juta ton di tahun 2011. Dari jumlah tersebut, sebesar 92 persen merupakan jerih payah nelayan tradisional. Padahal potensi produksi perikanan Indonesia terbesar di dunia yaitu 65 juta ton per tahun dan baru dimanfaatkan 13,4 juta ton (20,7).

Para nelayan tradisional tersebut dalam melakukan aktifitasnya masing-masing memiliki tradisi. Aktifitas melaut para nelayan dari suku bangsa manapun di Indonesia memiliki tradisi yang harus dipelihara. Tradisi tersebut terkait dengan aktifitas menangkap ikan. Ragam tradisi para nelayan dilakukan pada berbagai momentum baik sebelum mereka melaut maupun pada saat mereka berada di tengah laut, bahkan setelah mereka kembali ke daratan untuk memasarkan hasil tangkapan mereka (Mansur, 2015). Tradisi nelayan Mandar sebelum melaut ini diyakini memiliki kaitan yang erat dengan jumlah hasil tangkapan yang mereka dapatkan. Setelah Islam menyebar ke tanah Mandar, tradisi-tradisi itu disentuh dengan sentuhan yang manis sehingga menghasilkan akulturasi budaya.

Islam sebagai agama baru dan anutan mayoritas nelayan Mandar dengan tradisi kebaharian mereka yang sangat nampak mencolok kala itu, berpadu, menyatu dan menghasilkan warna Islam yang baru dan khas. Penyatuan dan pembauran itu terjadi karena tradisi dan budaya yang telah membumi di tengah-tengah masyarakat nelayan Mandar tidak mudah untuk dihilangkan.

Kebudayaan menunjukkan derajat dan tingkat peradaban manusia. Selain itu, kebudayaan juga menunjukkan ciri keperibadian manusia atau masyarakat pengaruhnya. Kebudayaan yang merupakan ciri pribadi manusia, di dalamnya mengandung tatanan nilai-nilai dan norma-norma yang perlu dimiliki dan dihayati oleh manusia atau masyarakat pendukungnya. Penghayatan terhadap kebudayaan dapat dilakukan melalui proses sosialisasi (Koentjaraningrat, 1980).

Suatu kebudayaan dapat dirumuskan sebagai seperangkat nilai-nilai dan cara berlaku (kebiasaan) yang dipelajari dan pada umumnya dimiliki oleh para warga dari suatu masyarakat (Ithromi, 1996). Jadi kebudayaan menunjuk kepada berbagai aspek kehidupan. Hal itu meliputi cara-cara bertingkah laku, kepercayaan-kepercayaan dan sikap-sikap serta hasil dari kegiatan manusia yang khas untuk suatu masyarakat atau kelompok penduduk tertentu. Suatu unsur kebudayaan akan tetap bertahan apabila masih memiliki fungsi atau peranan dalam kehidupan masyarakatnya. Sebaliknya unsur itu akan punah apabila tidak berfungsi lagi. Demikian pula dengan upacara tradisional sebagai unsur kebudayaan, tidak mungkin dipertahankan apabila masyarakat pendukungnya sudah tidak merasakan manfaatnya lagi (Mulyadi dkk, 1983). Dalam sebuah tradisi selalu ada hubungan dan keterkaitan dengan upacara tradisional (Isyanti, 2007).

Upacara tradisi adalah ekspresi budaya yang merupakan satu kesatuan dan bagian yang tidak terpisahkan dari kebudayaan masyarakat pemiliknya yang berfungsi sebagai penguatan norma-norma serta nilai-nilai budaya yang telah dianut oleh masyarakat secara turun temurun, seperti upacara pesta nelayan, pesta panen ataupun upacara perkawinan adat. Norma-norma serta nilai-nilai budaya itu mewujud dalam bentuk upacara yang dilakukan secara khusyuk oleh pemujanya, sehingga upacara tersebut dapat dijadikan pegangan hidup dalam mewarnai sikap dan tingkah lakunya sehari-hari.

Pelaksanaan upacara dengan segala median dan peralatannya senantiasa menstimuli emosi keagamaan anggota masyarakat pemiliknya. Pelaksanaan

upacara ritual, selain berfungsi sebagai media sosialisasi juga berfungsi sebagai media komunikasi dan pewarisan nilai-nilai dan norma-norma antar generasi yang terkait dengan sistem kepercayaan. Sosialisasi dapat ditempuh dengan berbagai cara, tetapi upacara beserta simbol-simbolnya adalah suatu cara yang dapat mempercepat terjadinya sosialisasi. Olehnya itu upacara tidak hanya menampilkan materi dan tahap-tahap upacara secara berurutan, melainkan di dalamnya tersirat ekspresi emosional yang memacu lahirnya kekuatan norma dan nilai yang bersifat kohesif di antara para anggota masyarakat (Yusuf, 1992).

Sebagaimana suku-suku lain di seluruh wilayah nusantara, suku Mandar yang ada di Pampusuang Kabupaten Polewali Mandar Sulawesi Barat, mengenal berbagai upacara tradisi sebagai bagian kekayaan budaya. Salah satu diantaranya adalah upacara *makkuliwa*. Ekspresi religiusitas tersebut hingga kini masih langgeng dan tetap terpelihara secara baik di dalam masyarakat nelayan Mandar. Tradisi *makkuliwa* dilaksanakan ketika ada suatu kepemilikan baru pada diri mereka, misalnya mereka memiliki perahu baru, mesin baru, peralatan tangkap baru, termasuk ketika baru akan melaut untuk melakukan operasi penangkapan ikan.

Kuliwa biasanya dilakukan di perahu dengan menggunakan media ritual beraneka macam makanan tradisional yang bernuansa simbolistik. Misalnya *sokkol* (ketan), *tallo manu* (telor ayam kampung), *loka manurung* (pisang kepok), *loka tira* (pisang raja), *loka warangan* (pisang ambon warangan), *cucur miana* (kue pelang) dan *ule-ule* (bubur). *Sokkol* dan *tallo manu* merupakan simbol pengharapan keselamatan, sedangkan *loka*, *cucur* dan *ule-ule* adalah simbolisasi pengharapan akan datangnya rezeki yang banyak dan berkesinambungan. Ritual ini diisi dengan pembacaan Barzanji, doa dan makan berjamaah/bersama yang dihadiri dan diikuti oleh *annangguru* (kiai/ustadz), ponggawa *kaiyang* (juragan perahu), ponggawa *lopi* (nahkoda perahu), sawi (nelayan) dan masyarakat sekitar.

Ritual-ritual nelayan Mandar yang lain dilaksanakan sebelum menebang kayu untuk pembuatan perahu dan ritual ketika proses pembuatan perahu. Terdapat pula ritual untuk mengungkapkan rasa syukur setelah nelayan berlabuh dengan selamat serta membawa hasil tangkapan ikan yang banyak dan memuaskan, yaitu melakukan ritual *mambaca-baca* dan *mappabuka*. Nilai yang terkandung dalam ritual-ritual tersebut tidak semata-mata bernuansa religius, tetapi juga mengandung nilai kedermawanan para nelayan Mandar yang berfungsi sebagai perekat dan pemelihara jalinan ukhuwah dan kohesi sosial diantara para nelayan.

Pembahasan

Dalam bahasa Mandar, *kuliwa* berarti seimbang. Jadi *makkuliwa* berarti menyeimbangkan. *Makkuliwa* dalam kaitannya dengan ritual nelayan Mandar berarti doa selamatan. Doa ini dimaksudkan agar tatanan kehidupan, baik di darat maupun di laut senantiasa berada dalam keseimbangan, tidak saling mengganggu dan merusak, sehingga bisa hidup tenang (Ismail, 2007).

Nelayan Mandar berkeyakinan, bahwa laut merupakan bentang alam berpenghuni yang senantiasa harus dihargai, dijaga kehormatannya dan tidak

boleh dilecehkan, bahkan harus mengikuti aturan-aturan dan menjauhi hal-hal yang dilarang untuk dilakukan pada saat melakukan pelayaran. Jika melewati suatu tempat yang dianggap sakral dan keramat, para nelayan harus memberi “salam” dan memohon “izin”. Hal tersebut dimaksudkan sebagai wujud penghormatan kepada para penghuni laut itu agar tidak mengganggu dan menghalangi perjalanan orang yang melintas dan berlayar di atasnya.

Dalam ranah inilah *kuliwa* memiliki makna penting bagi nelayan, karena di dalamnya terdapat harapan dan doa keselamatan. Para nelayan Mandar meyakini dan menyadari sepenuhnya bahwa jika tidak melakukan *kuliwa* ketika ada sesuatu kepemilikan piranti baru, misalnya memiliki perahu baru, mesin kapal baru, peralatan tangkap baru atau baru akan mulai melaut, maka boleh jadi akan ada sesuatu hal yang merisaukan hati di dalam pelayaran.

Dalam penyelenggaraan tradisi *makkuliwa*, selain melibatkan keluarga dari pemilik hajat serta para sawi, juga kerabat, sahabat serta tetangga. Menurut (Ansaar, 2010:193), bahwa keterlibatan anggota kerabat, sahabat, dan tetangga di dalam suatu kegiatan upacara tradisi menunjukkan nilai solidaritas yang tinggi berdasar pada nilai kekeluargaan dan ketetanggaan. Selain itu, Robertson Smith, dalam Koentjaraningrat, 1985) menyatakan, bahwa pelaksanaan upacara dapat mengintensifkan persatuan orang-orang yang hadir dalam wujud solidaritas bersama.

Komunitas nelayan Mandar di Desa Pambusuang Sulawesi Barat, dalam penyelenggaraan upacara makkuliwa sebagai suatu tradisi, dilakukan dengan dua pola. Pola **pertama** adalah pembacaan barazanji di atas perahu yang kemudian dilanjutkan dengan *massising posiq lopi* (menutup pusat) perahu dan diakhiri dengan pembacaan barazanji di rumah ponggawa lopi yang dirangkai dengan acara makan bersama. Sedangkan pola **kedua**, yaitu pembacaan barazanji terlebih dahulu di rumah *pongawa lopi* yang dirangkai dengan acara makan bersama, lalu kemudian dilanjutkan dengan doa bersama di atas perahu. Kedua pola penyelenggaraan upacara tradisi *makkuliwa* tersebut, berlangsung dua tahap yang intinya sama, hanya saja prosedur pelaksanaanya yang sedikit mengalami perbedaan. Jika pada pola pertama prosesnya diawali di atas perahu, maka pada pola yang kedua dimulai dari rumah *pongawa lopi* kemudian dilanjutkan ke perahu. Selain itu, kedua pola tersebut juga memiliki tujuan yang sama, yaitu memanjatkan doa keselamatan dan harapan untuk memperoleh rezeki yang melimpah selama melakukan penangkapan ikan.

Penyelenggaraan upacara tradisi *makkuliwa*, juga diwarnai dengan tindakan dan sikap serta ucapan-ucapan simbolik yang bermakna budaya. Makna-makna budaya yang dilambangkan dalam bentuk simbol-simbol upacara itu, mencerminkan adanya sistem nilai-nilai luhur yang sejak lama telah tumbuh dan berkembang serta terpelihara dengan baik dalam masyarakat nelayan Mandar.

Tradisi masyarakat nelayan Mandar dibangun di atas nilai-nilai tradisi yang mirip dengan kebudayaan Hindu terutama pada aspek kepercayaan dan ritual. Dari sisi kepercayaan, suku Mandar masa lampau meyakini adanya roh

halus dan hal-hal ghaib yang memiliki kekuatan melebihi kekuatan yang dimiliki manusia.

Kekuatan ghaib itu diyakini sebagai sumber kebaikan dan juga keburukan. Sewaktu-waktu bisa marah dan membahayakan diri para nelayan walau di saat yang lain juga bisa menyenangkan dan membantu, tergantung bagaimana cara memperlakukannya. Oleh karena itu, para nelayan Mandar senantiasa berhati-hati dalam bersikap. Ada aturan dan tata kelakuan yang harus dijaga dan diperhatikan agar harmonisasi dengan dunia ghaib tetap dapat terjaga. Tata kelakuan dalam menghubungkan diri dengan kekuatan ghaib diformulasikan oleh para nelayan Mandar dalam berbagai warna ritual. Pada setiap kegiatan ritual itu selalu ada media ritual berupa buah-buahan dan benda-benda tertentu. Pelaksanaan ritual ini dimaksudkan agar kekuatan-kekuatan ghaib itu karib dengan mereka agar tidak mengganggu kehidupan mereka.

Sejak awal Islam masuk dan menyebar ke tanah Mandar, harapan yang terselip dalam setiap ritual itu tidak lagi tertuju kepada kekuatan ghaib yang ada tetapi ditujukan kepada Allah sebagai zat yang maha kuasa. Walau dalam prosesi ritual itu masih menggunakan media yang sama ketika Islam belum menjadi anutan mereka. Kepercayaan nelayan Mandar kepada kekuatan-kekuatan ghaib merupakan area tanam yang subur bagi tumbuhan berkembangnya Islam sebagai agama baru. Sejak awal kedadangannya, Islam tidak mengusik berbagai macam keyakinan orang Mandar terhadap setiap benda yang digunakan oleh masyarakat dalam melakukan hubungan kepada yang ghaib. Setiap media dan bahan ritual merupakan simbol yang memiliki makna dan nilai. Para pengajur Islam menilai kondisi ini merupakan pintu lebar bagi tumbuh dan berkembangnya Islam. Walhasil, corak tasawuf menjadi pilihan untuk mendekatkan keyakinan lama masyarakat Mandar dengan agama Islam sebagai agama baru yang siap membaur.

Agama Islam sebagai agama baru orang Mandar pada fase awal penyebarannya bercorak tasawuf sebagai upaya pada pembawa siar agar Islam menghunjam dan menyentuh kecenderungan batin masyarakat Mandar yang kala itu menganut kepercayaan kepada hal-hal gaib. Turner, dalam (Y.W. Wartaya Winangun, 1990), mengatakan bahwa dimensi makna symbol tersebut tergantung pada penafsiran dan penempatan posisi simbol dalam kehidupan masyarakat.

Selain cara berhubungan kepada hal yang ghaib dengan menggunakan media ritual dan simbol-simbol, ada juga tata aturan yang diberlakukan dalam kehidupan masyarakat. Tata aturan yang dimaksud berupa anjuran atau larangan yang harus dihindari, yang disebut *pemali*. *Pemali* merupakan rambu-rambu yang sejatinya selalu harus dijaga dan dijauhi. Seandainya terjadi pelanggaran, maka dikhawatirkan akan memunculkan hal-hal yang tidak diinginkan seperti malapetaka akan menimpanya. Selain dikhawatirkannya sanksi dari yang ghaib, juga akan menjadi bahan cemoohan dan gunjingan di dalam masyarakat.

Apabila terjadi pelanggaran terhadap *pemali*, ada sanksi sosial yang siap menanti dan akan diberlakukan kepada para pelanggar *pemali*. Adanya kepercayaan terhadap kekuatan ghaib yang dinyatakan melalui simbol-simbol

suci dan *pemali-pemali* ini merupakan sumber inspirasi dan sumber kekuatan yang tumbuh secara tradisional di dalam bilik sanubari masyarakat nelayan Mandar. Semua itu menyiratkan makna dan nilai yang tumbuh sebagai bagian kebudayaan. Nilai budaya tersebut sangat niscaya mempengaruhi kehidupan perorangan maupun kehidupan kolektif masyarakat. (Ismail : 2012).

Laut merupakan medan yang menyediakan sumber penghidupan yang melimpah, tetapi juga membentangkan banyak risiko. Gelombang dan badai yang tidak dapat diprediksi, misalnya, kerap mengancam keselamatan para pelaut ketika mencari nafkah.

Dalam peta kedalaman laut Indonesia, suku Mandar merupakan satu-satunya suku bahari yang langsung berhadapan dengan laut lepas dan dalam serta terbuka tanpa gugusan pulau-pulau kecil. Jadi, sifat kebaharian suku Mandar bukan muncul dari hiruk-pikuk perebutan kekuasaan dan politik, militer atau ekonomi, melainkan siasat mereka dan cara bertahan menghadapi dan menaklukkan tantangan alam/laut dengan mengembangkan teknologi, organisasi sosial, dan ritual agar akrab dan bersahabat dengan laut demi memperoleh penghidupan dari laut tersebut.

Kecerdasan bahari nelayan Mandar itu dapat dilihat pada tiga bentuk teknologi perikanan yang mereka kembangkan, yakni rumpon (*rroppong*), perahu (bercadik) yang bernama *sandeq*, dan menangkap ikan sambil menghanyutkan diri ke tengah laut (*motangnga*).

Rumpon adalah kreasi cerdas nelayan Mandar dalam teknologi alat tangkap ikan. Atas penemuan tersebut, sebagaimana dilansir peneliti FAO PBB, Schlaes (1981), perangkap ikan kreasi nelayan Mandar tersebut kini sudah diadaptasi oleh 23 negara di kawasan Samudera Hindia maupun Pasifik.

Perahu *sandeq* menjadi perahu tradisional bercadik (bersayap) tercepat di kawasan Austronesia. Christopher Edwards, petualang maritim Inggris kelahiran Himalaya dan saat ini tinggal di Phuket Thailand, menyebut perahu yang hampir semuanya bercat putih itu seperti Bangau di permukaan danau. Namun tatkala bergerak, ia tak ubahnya, dalam istilah antropolog bahari asal Jerman, Horst Liebner, seperti penari balet yang lincah di ujung buih samudera lantaran gerak cepatnya mengiris gulungan ombak yang menggunung.

Dalam sejarah kebaharian Mandar, perahu kayu bertenaga angin inilah yang membawa para nelayan Mandar menggapai luasnya Samudera ribuan mil dari Maluku hingga Singapura, dari Flores hingga Sulu. Sehingga, tidak berlebihan jika pada 1997 perahu dengan tubuh ramping semampai, berlayar cantik, dan bertiang lentur ini di daulat menjadi satu-satunya perahu tradisional yang mendapat kehormatan di pameran maritim sedunia yang bertema “Dari Pulau ke Pulau” di Museum Nasional Prancis.

Perahu *sandeq* adalah perahu tradisional khas suku Mandar, dengan layar lebar, cadik, dan katir panjangnya. Bagi nelayan Mandar, perahu *sandeq* bukan sekedar kendaraan untuk mencari nafkah dan meningkatkan status sosial bagi pemiliknya. Tapi, perahu *sandeq* juga merupakan gambaran kehidupan suku Mandar.

Sandeq artinya runcing, karena haluannya berbentuk pipih dan runcing. Selain itu, layarnya berbentuk segi tiga (*mas.sandeq*). Bagian utama sebuah perahu *sandeq* adalah lambung, kemudi, layar, cadik, pemegang katir, dan katir. Perahu *sandeq* dibuat dengan merujuk pada struktur manusia, yang memiliki tulang rangka dan anggota-anggota tubuh lainnya. Pusat kehidupan *sandeq* adalah pada *posiq* atau pusar di bagian bawah tengah lambung *sandeq*.

Perahu *Sandeq* merupakan karya yang diwariskan oleh suku-suku Austronesia, yang datang ke pulau-pulau Nusantara dari arah Madagaskar pada abad ke-15 sebelum masehi. Sejarah mencatat, mereka memiliki sistem navigasi yang mantap, dengan bersandar pada petunjuk alam dan bintang-bintang di langit serta kepercayaan akan kegaiban. Pada masyarakat nelayan Mandar masyhur dikenal danya istilah *ussul* dan pantangan (*pemali*). *Ussul* ini merupakan pengharapan akan keberhasilan lewat penggunaan berbagai media dan simbol-simbol yang sarat makna dan nilai, sementara *pemali* adalah merupakan kumpulan larangan yang harus dihindari dan selalu dijauhi.

Dengan bekal kemampuan navigasi yang diwariskan secara turun temurun, dan kepatuhan akan ketentuan yang juga diturunkan secara tutur, maka suku Mandar lahir menjadi *posasiq macanga* atau pelaut yang tangguh. Sedangkan perahu *sandeq* hanyalah kendaraan tradisional, yang memiliki kekokohan dan kecepatannya yang mengagumkan. Lebih dari itu, suku Mandar merasa yakin, bahwa mereka memiliki roh kehidupan yang berasal dari sebuah perahu *sandeq*. Semangat *sandeq*, yakni semangat untuk mengarungi kehidupan yang keras dan memenangkannya secara jujur. Inilah rona kehidupan suku Mandar di pesisir Sulawesi Barat. (Screening Program Potret SCTV 01 September 2007).

Pada sisi hidup yang lain, nelayan Mandar merupakan pengikut Islam yang taat dan fanatik. Walau demikian, mereka juga memelihara kemampuan-kemampuan gaib atau supranatural yang didapatkan dari warisan nenek moyang dan leluhurnya. Upacara adat untuk memohon keselamatan para *passandeq*, bukan hanya dilakukan di dalam rumah. Mereka juga memboyong pisang, telur, dan berbagai simbol-simbol penyerahan diri lain, ke perahu *sandeq* yang bakal menjadi kendaraan tunggangannya di tengah laut. Kali ini, *punggawa posasiq* sendiri yang menjadi pemimpin upacara. Ia mengawasi setiap jengkal perahu *sandeq* sambil mengalunkan mantera-mantera di dalam hati. Ia juga menengok pusat (*posiq*) sumber kehidupan perahu *sandeq* di bagian dalam perahu *sandeq*.

Awak perahu *sandeq* (*passandeq*) dan perahu *sandeqnya* ibarat joki dengan kudanya. Mereka merupakan satu kesatuan yang tak terpisahkan. Perahu *sandeq* yang kokoh, cantik dan bisa melaju cepat (*lopi Sandeq nan malolo*), harus dikendalikan oleh *passandeq-passandeq macanga* dan tangguh. Mereka adalah punggawa dan sawi. Punggawa merupakan kapten dan juru mudi. Sedangkan sawi merupakan awak *lopi sandeq*, yang bertugas menjadi pengatur arah layar dan menjaga keseimbangan *lopi sandeq*. Mereka juga merupakan satu kesatuan, yang bahu-membahu dan saling membantu melanjutkan perahu *sandeq* yang mereka layarkan.

Selain *rumpon* dan *lopi sandeq*, nelayan Mandar juga memiliki tradisi *motangnga*, yakni menangkap *tallo tuin-tuin* telur ikan terbang yang harganya mahal dengan cara menghanyutkan diri ke lautan lepas dan dalam, merupakan bentuk ketiga teknologi tangkap ikan nelayan Mandar. Para nelayan Mandar, mengadakan pelayaran selama kurang lebih 10 hari di laut lepas untuk laku *motangnga* tersebut, selain didorong oleh faktor ekonomi, juga sudah jadi “ritus religius” saban tahun yang dinanti-nantikan.

Pada masyarakat nelayan Mandar, paling tidak terdapat dua hal. *Pertama*, bekerjanya organisasi sosial yang terjalin sedemikian rupa dalam komunitas nelayan Mandar. Organisasi sosial itu adalah: (1) nelayan (*posasiq*), termasuk di dalamnya adalah nahkoda (*punggawa posasiq*) dan awaknya (*sawi*); (2) pembuat perahu (*pande lopi*); (3) dukun (*sando*); (4) pemilik modal (*punggawa pottana*); dan (5) pedagang perantara (*pappalele*) yang biasanya diperankan oleh istri-istri para nelayan.

Kedua, dari interaksi antar organisasi (sosial) bahari yang sudah berlangsung panjang itu melahirkan tiga sistem pengetahuan penting dunia kebaharian, yakni pengetahuan pelayaran dan kelautan, pengetahuan tentang perahu, dan mistik atau kegaiban.

Interaksi lintas sosial itu, tidak saja meneguhkan bagaimana daya cipta nelayan Mandar membangun ketahanan komunitas, sosial, dan ritualnya tapi juga membangun sebuah pengertian akan zaman yang terus-menerus bergerak dan berubah. Bisa jadi *sandeg*, *rumpon*, dan teknik menangkap ikan *motangnga* akan tergerus zaman, tapi yang pasti bahwa kekuatan bahari nelayan Mandar terletak pada daya cipta mereka dan bukan pada hasil cipta. Dan keulungan nelayan Mandar yang disebut Pelras sebagaimana yang dikutip Ridwan adalah kreativitas mereka beradaptasi dalam labirin perubahan zaman yang berlari kencang tak terkendali.

Bagi nelayan Mandar, laut bukan hanya fenomena naturalistik, tetapi juga spiritualistik. Laut diciptakan oleh zat adikodrati, juga dijaga oleh roh-roh berkekuatan besar dan luar biasa yang kerap kali iseng dan mengganggu para nelayan yang beraktifitas di atasnya.

Penyatuan manusia dengan laut yang menantang risiko itu lantas melahirkan berbagai ekspresi spiritualitas yang khas di komunitas nelayan Mandar Pampusuang. Wujudnya adalah ritual-ritual yang pada dasarnya merupakan hasil pertemuan ajaran Islam dengan tradisi lokal masyarakat nelayan Mandar. Hasil dari perkawinan Islam dan tradisi local itulah yang melahirkan Islam lokal. Perjumpaan Islam dengan tradisi lokal nelayan Mandar inilah yang kemudian melahirkan warna ekspresi spiritualitas masyarakat nelayan Mandar. Hal ini sekaligus meneguhkan fakta bahwa “pribumisasi Islam” di dalam proses dialektika budaya telah pernah ada dan berlangsung hingga kini.

Aktivitas kebaharian nelayan Mandar tidak bisa dilepaskan dari unsur mistik. Kepercayaan terhadap “penjaga laut” masih cukup kental. Tetapi itu ditransformasikan sesuai dengan ajaran Islam, terbukti dengan masuknya beberapa nama nabi di dalam mantra-mantra mereka. Khususnya Nabi Khidir,

yang oleh para nelayan disebutnya Nabi Heler. Menurut kepercayaan mereka bahwa nabi Heler diberi wewenang oleh Allah untuk menjaga laut.

Begitu pula ketika berada di atas perahu, perilaku mereka diikat oleh norma-norma mistik yang berbentuk *pemali* atau larangan. Perilaku etis ketika melaut itu disangkutkan dengan penghormatan kepada makhluk-makhluk gaib di laut agar tidak mengganggu keselamatan orang-orang yang berlayar di atasnya. *Pemali* itu misalnya bicara kotor atau bertengkar, membuang sisa makanan ke dalam laut seenaknya, menyebut kata-kata yang bermakna pesimistik, dan lain sebagainya.

Motif religiusitas nelayan Mandar Pampusuang cenderung sufistik. Itu dapat dilihat dari persepsi dan pandangan mereka mengenai rezeki dalam hubungannya dengan aktivitas penangkapan ikan. Idealnya, rezeki tidak hanya banyak dalam jumlah tetapi juga mabarakkaq. Mereka lebih memilih dan memprioritaskan rezeki yang *barakkaq* (berkah), ketimbang hanya melimpah. *Barakkaq* hanya bisa diraih dengan cara halal, sekaligus berimplikasi baik, tidak hanya bagi diri sendiri tetapi juga orang lain. Basis filosofis itulah yang melandasi etika sufistik puncak yang mereka sebut sebagai *mappackinggi alawe*, yakni pembersihan diri dari rezeki yang syubhat apalagi rezki yang haram.

Kesimpulan

Kuliwa sebagai ekspresi religiusitas nelayan Mandar Pampusuang merupakan wujud dan hasil perkawinan Islam dengan tradisi lokal. Lokalitas yang sudah mengalami Islamisasi ini menjadikan *kuliwa* semakin kuat menghunjam dalam sanubari para nelayan Mandar Pampusuang Sulawesi Barat.

Tradisi *kuliwa* awet dan terpelihara rapi di kalangan nelayan Mandar walau waktu waktu terus bergulir dan zaman terus berganti. *Makkuliwa* dalam kaitannya dengan ritual nelayan adalah doa selamat. Doa ini disenandungkan pada setiap aktifitas kebaharian mereka agar tatanan hidup para nelayan senantiasa dalam keseimbangan dan tidak saling mengganggu apalagi saling merusak. Pelaksanaan *kuliwa*, melibatkan keluarga, kerabat, sahabat dan para sawi, serta tetangga. Keterlibatan mereka menyuarakan nilai solidaritas yang tinggi atas dasar nilai kekeluargaan. Penyelenggaraan *kuliwa* dilakukan dalam dua pola. Pertama, pembacaan barazanji di atas perahu kemudian diikuti dengan *massising posiq lopi* yang dilanjutkan dengan pembacaan barazanji di rumah *pongawa lopi*, selanjutnya makan bersama. Pola kedua, pembacaan barazanji di rumah *pongawa lopi* diikuti dengan acara makan bersama lalu ditutup dengan doa.

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A SOCIO-HISTORICAL APPROACH TO HINDUISM: FROM PRE-ISLAMIC TIMES TO THE PROPHET MUHAMMAD ERA

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Abstract: *The study discovers the Hinduism in Arabian Peninsula from Pre-Islamic times to the Prophet Muhammad era. It is aimed, in general, to seek common ground among diverse religions; Middle Eastern religions or called Abrahamic religions (Judaism, Christianity, and Islam) and Asian religions (Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Sikhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism) and in particular, to find out the existence of Hinduism as one of the oldest world religions in pre-Islamic Arabia and even in the Prophet Muhammad's time, together with other religions such as Judaism, Christian, and Sabians. Besides, it is also to show that between Islam and Hinduism has mutual intercultural relationship since very early times. The study uses a socio-historical method pioneered by Shailesh Matthew and Shirley Jackson Case. The findings of the study are the existence of Hinduism could be traced back to ancient commercial contact between Arabs and India and then continued to pre-Islamic times and Prophet Muhammad era. It is based on a socio-historical analysis on the terms such as az-Zuth and malik al-Hind mentioned in the prophetic traditions (hadith).*

Keywords: Hinduism, Jatts, Arabs, relations

A. Introduction

Two major families of religion dominate the global village. The first consists of the traditions that originated in and spread throughout Asia, and the second involves those that sprang from the Middle East (McFaul, 2006). The two largest and most influential Asian religions are Hinduism and Buddhism while others are religious philosophies of Confucianism, Taoism, Shintoism, Jainism, Sikhism, and Zoroastrianism. The three most important Middle Eastern religions are Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, which are called the

Abrahamic faiths because they all trace their lineages back to the patriarch Abraham.

The impact of these two families of religion in bringing either greater peace and justice or hatred and hostility into the global village will depend on the extent to which they stress either their similarities or their differences. All the world religions espouse both a worldview and a code of morality. All religions embody dissimilarities that decrease the possibility of finding common ground for cooperation, as well as similarities that increase it. Dissimilarities exist both within and between the Asian and Abrahamic religions. At the worldview level, the Asian religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Sikhism share the common themes of enlightenment, karma, reincarnation, and duty. At the same time, they interpret these themes differently. Hinduism and Sikhism are pantheistic because they see the universe as God's body. Buddhism does not recognize a supreme entity but rather a single cosmic "truth." Like Buddhism, Jainism could essentially be defined as atheistic (at least by Western standards). Jainism, however, assumes that every individual possesses a unique and eternal soul. Despite their conceptual differences, the central objective of the most prominent Asian religions is the achievement of enlightenment that ends karma-driven reincarnation (Mc.Faul, 2006).

The three Abrahamic religions share an identity as "people of books", a reference to the fact that all three faiths respect scriptures and sacred texts as primary sources of inspiration and devotion (Kataregga and Shenk 1980, 25-26). The most profound concept shared by Muslims, Christians, Jews, is belief in ethical monotheism and the worship of one creator. This God has been called by different names and worshipped in different ways throughout history, but Yahweh/God/Allah remains at the very heart of all three traditions. Though most followers of these faiths do not formally recognize or utilize the language of the other faiths (that is, most Christians do not call God by the name of Yahweh or Allah), almost all members of the Abrahamic faiths share similar beliefs regarding the qualities of the divine: creative, merciful, just, omnipotent, omniscient, and eternal. They also share common frameworks and a belief that their faith is rooted in historical tradition. This history gave birth to creeds, worship practices, prayer, and mysticism in all three faiths (Abu Nimer, Khoury, and Welty 2007, 18-19).

The Abrahamic religions of Judaism, Christian and Islam are often understood by Westerners as being of intolerant and radical religion. In contrast to the Abrahamic faiths, religious traditions originating in Asia tend, in their teachings, to be more inclusive and tolerant. Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism offer lessons on how religion and governance can be juxtaposed and how beliefs can inform policy and actions. Confucianism, Hinduism, and Buddhism contrast with the Abrahamic faiths in that they tend to encourage an inward focus and discourage proselytization. Instead of trying to persuade others to their beliefs and win new converts, adherents to Eastern faiths tend to focus on making themselves and their fellow believers better people (Carter & Smith, 2004, p.286)

In Islam, unlike the Abrahamic faiths of Christians, Jews and Sabeans which are mentioned in some verses⁶², Al-Qur'an never refers the religions of Asia, including Hinduism as one of the world oldest organized religion literally. With regard to Hinduism doctrine, most of Muslims regarded Hinduism as polytheistic which believe in Gods and Goddess. Although for some medieval Muslim historians like al-Biruni who wrote *Kitab al-Hind*, Hinduism is monotheistic in nature. Some Hindu texts contain opinions indicating that God is the One, the highest reality, eternal, unique, and beyond all likeness and unlikeness. Therefore, he sees polytheism as a common accidental deviation from the monotheistic outlook. That is caused mainly by the people's inability to understand "non-symbolic" philosophical and theological matters. Thus, in this case polytheism is simply a matter of the "symbolic shapes" of religiosity that typically exist when people need a concrete manifestation or representation of the Higher Beings (Rosenthal, 1973: 546).

Another important thing why the study of Hinduism in the view of Islam has been ignored by Muslims and non-Muslims is the lack of data: literary texts, artifacts, manuscripts related to the Hinduism. Therefore, it is due to those facts, the study of Hinduism from socio-historical point of view is very important to provide a new paradigm and deconstruct an old one that asserted Hinduism never appeared in Arabian Peninsula.

B. Methodology

This study is based on the theoretical framework of a socio-historical approach founded by Shailer Mathew⁶³ and Shirley Jackson Case⁶⁴ from Chicago. According to Mathew in his 'Spiritual Interpretation of History', as quoted by Roger A. Badham, the basic principle of this approach is that religion

⁶² There are some verses in Al-Qur'an deal with the Christians, Jews ,and Sabeans such as Al-Qur'an, 2: 62; Al-Qur'an, 5: 69

⁶³ Shailer Mathews (May 26, 1863 - October 23, 1941) was a [liberal Christian theologian](#), involved with the [Social Gospel](#) movement. Born in [Portland, Maine](#), and graduated from [Colby College](#). Mathews was a [progressive](#), advocating [social concerns](#) as part of the Social Gospel message, and subjecting [Biblical](#) texts to [scientific study](#), in opposition to contemporary conservative Christians. He incorporated [evolutionary](#) theory into his religious views, noting that the two were not mutually exclusive. Among Mathews' works are *The Social Teachings of Jesus*, 1897, *A History of New Testament Times in Palestine*, 1899, *The French Revolution*, 1900, *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament*, 1905, *The Church and the Changing Order*, 1907, *The Social Gospel*, 1909, *The Gospel and the modern Man*, 1910, *The Social Teaching of Jesus*, 1910, *Scientific Management in Churches*, 1911, *The Individual and the Social Gospel*, 1914, *The Spiritual Interpretation of History*, 1916, *Patriotism and Religion*, 1918.

⁶⁴Shirley Jackson Case (1872-1947) was a Liberal church historian. Born in New Brunswick, Canada, he was educated at Acadia University, then studied theology at Yale. From 1908 to 1938 he taught NT and early church history at the University of Chicago Divinity School, and became dean there in 1933. He once remarked he was "born a liberal," and he contributed much to the development of the liberal "Chicago School" of theology. He rejected the supernatural element in Christian belief and attempted to explain the development of Christianity solely in terms of natural environmental influences. Among Case's many books are *The Evolution of Early Christianity* (1914), *Jesus-A New Biography* (1927), *Bibliographical Guide to the History of Christianity* (1931), and *The Christian Philosophy of History* (1943).

was an integral part of society and therefore ought to be studied in the context of its social environment. He also believed that empirical and inductive methods of “scientific” history, when properly pursued, would separate the essential elements of the Christian faith from their particular manifestation in individual societies and would enable modern people to use them most fruitfully (Badhan, 1998: 108).

From the socio-historical point of view, the church, the sacraments and the Bible itself are social and human products. They are social products in which individuals have played a part; they are human products, since society is made up of individual human beings (Mc.Cown: 19). Consequently, religion, including religious texts is regarded as social products as the result of interaction with the social environment.

Al-Qur'an and Hadith like other Scriptures, did not simply drop out of the sky, but rather were shaped by an evolving interaction between culture, politics, and geographic location. For Case, the New Testament as a set of religious writings was important based on the unique moral sensibilities of the Judeo-Christian tradition that Western civilization inherited (Jelks, 2012: 88-9). The socio-historical context of the Qur'an in the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods should not be ignored. Understanding this context of the Qur'an requires a detailed knowledge of the Prophet's life, both in Mecca and Medina, the spiritual, social, economic, political and legal climate, and the associated norms, laws, customs, manners, institutions and values of the region, in particular Hijaz (Saeed: 117).

C. Discussions

The Root of Hinduism

The etymology of "Hindu" goes back to about 515 BCE, when the Persian king Darius the Great annexed the Indus Valley to his empire (Parpola: 3). *Sindhu*, the Sanskrit name of the Indus River and its southern province—the area now known as Sindh—became Hindu in the Persian language. In *Encyclopaedia of the Hindu World*, the word 'Hindu' is derived from the river *Sindhu* (the Indus), for the Persians referred to India as the land beyond the *Sindhu*. The region round about the *Sindhu* and other rivers was known as *Sapta Sindhu* or Seven Rivers. The Persians pronounced 'S' as 'H' (e.g. *Saptaha* as *Haftaha*, *Sapta* as *Hafta*) and so the *Sindhu* was pronounced as '*Hindhu*' or simply '*Hindu*' (Ram Garg, vol.1: 3) and then the people living in the region of the Sindhu river were called the Hindus and their religion Hinduism. The terms 'Hindu' and 'Hinduism' were later extended to the people of the whole sub-continent and their way of living and thinking (Kishore: 9). Over a thousand years later, in 712 AD, the Muslims invaded the Indus Valley. To distinguish themselves, they called all non-Muslims *hindus*; the name of the land became, by default, the name of the people and their religion (Schoeps, 1966, p. 148).

Hinduism in pre-Islamic Times

History of the emergence of Hinduism in Arabian Peninsula is inter-related with Indo-Arab relations that started since the period of antiquity as early as 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. According to an eminent historian of Kerala, A.P. Ebrahim Kunju, from very early times, Malabar and the West Asian countries of Arabia, Syria and Egypt had wide-ranging maritime trade contacts. Till the establishment of the Roman Empire,⁶⁵ the trade monopoly was in the hands of the Arab merchants (Ibrahim, 1975: 11). According to Ahmad Amin, for the people of Yemen, India was not new and they had old relations with India and the East. He further states that the Arab trading was in the hands of Yemenites who carried Indian imported goods to Syria and Egypt (Amin, 1964: 13). From the very beginning, Yemen was a very big market for Indian commodities and most of the traders sold their goods in Yemen. And Basra was the main port, where the Indian commodities, were carried by ships (Alwaye, 1971: 53).

Another evidence of Indo-Arab contact in ancient times can be found from the *Periplus*⁶⁶ which briefly describes the golden age of Aden or Eudamon Arabia:

...Eudaimôn Arabia [“prosperous Arabia”], a full-ledged city in earlier days, was called eudaimôn when, since vessels from india did not go on to egypt and those from egypt did not dare to sail to the places further on but came only this far, it used to receive the cargoes of both (*Periplus Maris Erythraei*, 26. (trans. L. Casson).

By the end of 6th century A.D, the Arabs had gained control of most the trade from Yemen to Syria, an important route by which the West got Indian luxury goods as well as South Arabian frankincense (Watt, 1974: 48). Mecca was a rich and important commercial center in the century before the birth of Muhammad (Peters, 1994: 24). It was transfer point in the long distance trade between India, Africa and the Mediterranea (Crone: 8).

From Islamic point of views, there are a lot of historical evidences for this time-tested cultural tie up between India and Arabs. As we find in religious sources, the first human being, Adam is believed to have landed in Ceylon⁶⁷ or Sarandib as Arabs used to call it. The identification of the peak in Sri Lanka as the landing place of Prophet Adam was referenced by Al-Tabari (At-Thabari: 122). According to an Islamic tradition, India was the first country in which

⁶⁵ Roman Empire was established by Augustus in 27 B.C and divided by Theodosius in 395C.E into the Western or Latin and Eastern or Greek Empires.

⁶⁶ The Periplus is a [Greco-Roman periplus](#), written in [Greek](#), describing navigation and [trading opportunities](#) from [Roman Egyptian](#) ports like [Berenice](#) along the coast of the [Red Sea](#), and others along [Northeast Africa](#) and the [Sindh](#) and South western [India](#). The text has been ascribed to different dates between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, but a mid-1st century date is now the most commonly accepted. Although the author is unknown, it is clearly a firsthand description by someone familiar with the area and is nearly unique in providing accurate insights into what the ancient European world knew about the lands around the [Indian Ocean](#).

⁶⁷ *Ceylon* in the past was a part of greater India but present day called Srilanka.

idolatry was practiced and the ancient Arabia idols were of Indian origin (Friedmann: 214). Indian idolatry began after Adam descended following his expulsion from Paradise on an Indian mountain called *Budh*; after his death the sons of *Sheth* began to worship his body. Following this, a man from the sons of *Cain* offered to carve idols for his people so that they also would have an object of worship. He was the first man to do this. Later, in the time of Noah, the waters of the deluge washed the idols away from the Indian mountain on which they were placed, and swept them from country to country until they finally landed on the Arabian coast near *Jidda*. The legendary founder of Arabian idolatry, 'Amr ibn Luhayy, was directed by a *jinn* to the place in which they were located. He found the idols and called upon all the Arabs to worship them (At-Thabari, vol. 1: 121). According to another tradition, reported by Firishtah, the Brahmins of India used to travel to Mecca in pre-Islamic times in order to pay homage to the idols and considered the Ka'ba the best place of worship (Firishtah: 604).

In pre-Islamic times, Ka'ba was unifier and builder of solidarity among the Arabs people and a trading season was tied to closely to the pilgrimage season. That trade should be linked with the pilgrimage was natural to most of the participants: tribes that, for reasons of danger or distance, did not normally associate could come together under the protection of God to worship and, it seems clear, to trade. The Meccan historian, Muhammad Ibn 'Abdullah al-Azraqi (2003: 129) in "*Akhbar Makkah wa ma Ja'a Fiha min al-Atsar*" has a detailed sketch of the pre-Islamic fair (festival):

The Hajj was in the month of Dhu al-Hijja. People went out with their goods and they ended up in (the place called) Ukaż on the day of the new moon of Dhu al-Qa'da. They stayed there twenty nights during which they set up in Ukaż their market of all colors and all goods in small houses. The leaders and foremen of each tribe oversee the selling and buying among the tribes where they congregate in the middle of the market. After twenty days they leave for Majanna, and they spend ten days in its market, and when they see the new moon Of Dhu al-Hijja they leave for (the place called) Dhu al-Majaz, where they spend eight days and nights in its markers. They leave Dhu al-Majaz on the "day of tawarib," so called because they depart from Dhu al-Majaz for Urfa after they have taken water (for their camels) from Dhu al-Majaz. They do this because there is no drinking water in Urfa, nor in Muzdalifa. The "day of tawarib" was the last day of their markers. The people who were present at the markets of Ukaż and Majanna and Dhu al-Majaz were merchants, and those who wanted to trade, and even those who had nothing to sell and buy because they could go out with their families. The non-merchants from Mecca left Mecca (on haji) on the "day of tawarib."

According to Zuhairi Misrawi, those who did the pilgrimage in pre-Islamic times were not only from Arabs but also from Hinduism and Persian. They believed that the soul of *shibwat*, one of their deities, ever travelled to Hijaz and his soul lived inside of *Hajar Aswad*. They called Mecca as *Makṣiyā* and *Makṣiyāna* (Zuhairi, 2009: 222-3).

Zuhairi's idea above is in line with M.A. Khan's that the Hindu's of India, who worshipped a different set of idols, had access into the sacred of Ka'ba. Indian merchants brought the idol monolith of goddess al-Manat from Ka'ba, which had disappeared from the shrine, to Somnath (India), where it became popular deity. The pious Muslim conqueror Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni, determined to wipe out the remaining vestige of idolatry of the Ka'ba, attacked Somnath in 1024 for destroying that idol. In trying to protect their revered idol, some 50,000 Hindus perished (Khan: 26).

The Hindu scriptures: Sama Veda, Yajur Veda, Rig Veda, dan Athar Veda as quoted by P.N.Noak in *The World Vedic Heritage* (Noak: 687-698), are also mentioned in *Syi'ar al-'Uqul*, anthology of classical Arabic poetry saved in *Makhtab-e-Sultania*, Istambul. It was compiled by Labi bin Akhtab bin Turfa who lived a hundred years (1700 B.C) before Prophet Muhammad saw. Those poems are as follows:

Aya muwarekal araj yushaiya noha minar Hinda e, wa aradakallha manyonaifail jikaratun.

Oh the Divine land of Hind, blessed art thou, thou art chosen land showered with divine knowledge

Wabalatjali Yatun ainana sahabi akhatun jikra, Wahajayabi yonajjalur rasu minal Hindatun.

That celestial knowledge shines with such brilliance, through the words of Hindu saints in four fold abundance

Yakuloonallaha ya ablal araf alameen kullahum, fattabe-u jikaratul Veda bukkun malam yonajjylatun.

God enjoins on all, follow with devotion, path shown by Veda with divine percept

Wahowa alamus Sama wal Yajur minallahay Tanajeelan, Fa e noma ya akhigo mutibayan Yobasshariyona jatun.

Overflowing with knowledge are Sama and Yajur for Man, Brothers, follow the path which guides you to salvation

Wa isa nain huma Rig Athar nasabin ka Khuwatun, Wa asanat Alaudan wabowa masha e ratun,

Also the two Rig and Athar(va) teach us fraternity, taking shelter under their lusture, dispels darkness

Hindu People in Prophet Muhammad Era

a. *Az-Zuth (Hindus) in Prophetic Tradition (Hadith)*

The most important development of the 7th century CE was the birth and explosive advancement of Islam. The appearance of Islam in Mecca which was the nerve centre for trade and cultural activities of Hijaz in that period was one of the factors which hastened the spread of Islam in other areas. Like in pre-Islamic era, Indo-Arab cultural ties can be analyzed through the existence of Hinduism in Arabian Peninsula in the Hadith. It is mentioned in *Sahih al-Bukhari* (Al-Bukhari, *Kitab al-Anbiya'*, hadith no. 3256), Hazrat Abdullah ibn

'Abbas, a companion of the Prophet Muhammad saw some strangers with him and said that their features and physique were like those of Jats (*az-Zuth*):

حَدَّثَنَا مُحَمَّدٌ بْنُ كَثِيرٍ، أَخْبَرَنَا عُثْمَانُ بْنُ الْمُغَيْرَةَ، عَنْ أَبْنَ عَبَّاسٍ رَضِيَ فَعُمَرُ جُعْدُ عَرِيقُ الصَّدْرِ، وَأَمَّا اللَّهُ عَنْهُمَا، قَالَ: قَالَ النَّبِيُّ: "رَأَيْتُ عِيسَى وَمُوسَى وَإِبْرَاهِيمَ فَمَمَا عِسَى مُوسَى فَلَدُمْ حَسِيمٌ سَبْطٌ كَاتَهُ مِنْ رِجَالِ الرُّطْ

The Prophet (صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَسَلَّمَ) said, "I saw Moses, Jesus and Abraham (on the night of my Ascension to the heavens). Jesus was of red complexion, curly hair and a broad chest. Moses was of brown complexion, straight hair and tall stature as if he was from the people of *Az-Zutt*.

It has been reported that a 'Djat' (*az-Zutt*) physician, who was apparently well-versed in witch-craft also, is said to have been called in to treat the Prophet Muhammad's wife Aisha when she fell seriously ill. It is mentioned in *Adab al-Mufrad*:

حَدَّثَنَا سَلِيْمَانُ بْنُ حَرْبٍ قَالَ حَدَّثَنَا حَادِيْنَ بْنَ زَيْدٍ عَنْ يَحْيَى بْنِ سَعِيدٍ عَنْ عُمَرَ عَنْ عَائِشَةَ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهَا دَبَّرَ أَمَّةً لَهَا فَاشْتَكَتْ عَائِشَةَ فَسَأَلَ بْنَ أَخْيَاهَا طَبِيبًا مِنَ الرُّطْ قَالَ إِنَّكَ تَخْبُرُنِي عَنْ امْرَأَةٍ مَسْحُورَةٍ مَسْحُورَتِهَا أَمَّةً لَهَا فَأَخْبَرَتْ عَائِشَةَ قَالَتْ سَحْرِتِنِي فَقَالَتْ نَعَمْ فَقَالَتْ لَمْ لَا تَنْجِنِي أَبْدَأْ ثُمَّ قَالَتْ بِيَوْهَا مِنْ شَرِّ الْعَرَبِ مَلَكَةٌ

b. Etymological Roots of *az-Zut*

The nomenclature of the 'az-Zut' (Jat) is complicated by the fact that more than two scores of the variants of this term have been reported from a wide range of sources from diverse regions. The 6th century Pali inscription in nail-headed character spells this race as 'Jit' (Tod, ii: 914-17). Etymologically the term seems to have originated from the epithet of their supposedly first King, Jit Salindra, mentioned in this inscription (Raza, 2004: p.54) . In the opinion of Tod, in Panjab and Rajasthan, the people of this race retained their original name' Jit (Tod, i: p.85). According to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the term 'Djatt' (Jatt) is employed by the Persian translator of *Chachnama*, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Sind* and Shah Wali Allah al-Dihlawi in his Persian letters (Lewis, vol.2: 488-9). The term 'Jat' is also referred by Delhi Sultanate chronicler, al-Biruni (Al-Biruni: 461). For the Arabicized form, the term 'Zat' or 'Zutt' was employed because in Arabic the letter 'J' is changed into 'Z' (Elliot & Dowson, vol.1: 40). The earliest historical evidence of the *Jats* is a 6th century inscription (541 CE), in Nail-headed characters that refers to Raja Jit Salindra as ruler of Salpoora (Punjab), Malwa and parts of Rajasthan (James Tod: 914-17). It has been argued that the name 'Djat' (Zutt) is basically an Indo-Aryan form which has a post Sanskritic Indian origin and wide distribution over the Indo-Pak subcontinent particularly Panjab, Sind, Rajasthan and western Uttar Pradesh (Lewis, ii; 488).

c. Views on the Origin of *az-Zut* (Jats)

There are two views on the origin of Jats (az-Zuts): *first*, the Indo-Scythian theory. James Tod and Alexander Cunningham were the pioneer scholars who formulated the argument that the Jats belonged to the Indo-

Scythian stock. A. Cunningham in his *Archaeological Report* (1863-64) identifies the Jats "with the Xanthii of Strabo (born 64 BC) and the Jatii of Pliny and Ptolemy (born 23 A.D), and fixes their parent country on the banks of the Oxus river between Bactria, Hyrkania and Khorasmia... they may have been known in early times by the general name of their horde, as Abars, instead of their tribal name as Jats (Cunningham: p. 313).

According to this view, the main body of the Jatii would have occupied the district of Abiria and the towns of Paradabathra in Sindh, Pakistan; or southern Indo-Scythia, while the Panjab or northern Indo-Scythia was chiefly colonized by their brethren the Medes.⁶⁸ Cunningham holds that the Jats "probably entered Panjab from their homeland on the Oxus soon after the Meds or Mands, who were also Indo-Scythians, and who moved into the Panjab about 100 BCE. The Jats possibly first occupied the Indus valley as far as Sind, whither the Meds followed them about the beginning of the present era. But before the earliest Muhammadan invasion the Jits had spread into the Panjab proper, where they were firmly established in the beginning of the 11th century. By the time of Babur, the Jats of the Salt-range tract had been subdued by the Gakkars, Awans and Janjuas, while as early as the 7th century the Jilts and Meds of Sind were ruled over by a Brahmana dynasty. Nevertheless, Tod classes the Jats as one of the greatest Rajput tribes, but Cunningham differs in holding the Rajputs belong to the original Aryan stock and the Jats to a later wave of immigrations from the North-West, probably of Scythian race (Ibbetson: 97).

From the beginning of the 20th century the theory of Scythian origin of the Jats received a major challenge from the new discoveries and developments in the fields of Philology, History and Anthropology. Grierson, Trump and Beames taking cue from the language and physical types, argued that the Jats are the pure descendants of the Indo-Aryan. Grierson (1990: 136) stated Lahnda is the language of Western Panjab which is also known by several other names such as Western Punjabi. Jatki (language of the Jan tribe), Uchi and Hindki. According to Nesfield's theory , the word 'Jat' is nothing more than the modern Hindu pronunciation of *Yadu* or *Jady*, the tribe in which Khrisna was born, which is now represented by the modern Jadon Rajputs (Nesfields, 1931: p.52). Similarly, Miller thinks that much ingenuity has been spent on the attempt to prove them to be Scythians; but if physiognomy counts for anything, no one could doubt their Aryan origin (Nijjar, 59).

d. Religion of az-Zut (Jats)

The religion of the Jats is relatively simple as compared with that of the Brahmans or Raiputs. All Jats, like many people throughout India, were originally Hindus. According to Westphal-Hellbusche and Westphal (1964), the Arabic equivalent of Jat is *Zutt*, a generic term used for "men from India." The

⁶⁸ The inhabitants of Media, an Indo-European people who expanded their rule over Persia in the reign of Sargon (705 B.C)

word also means "bunch of hair," and the Jats themselves claim that they have descended from the hair of Shiva, one of the three key Hindu deities.

The author of *Mujmal at-Tawarikh* tells us that by the Arabs the Hindus are called 'Jatts (*az-Zuth*). Ibn Hauqal also informs us that "between Mansura and Makran.... the inhabitants of the country are the Indian races called Zats/Jats" (Ibn Hauqal: 382). According to the *Encyclopedia of Islam*, the *Jats* of the lower Indus comprise both *Jats* and *Rajputs*, and the same rule applies to *Las-Bela* where descendants of former ruling races like the Sumra and Samma of Sindh and the Langah of Multan are found. At the time of the first appearance of the Arabs they found the whole of Makran in possession of Jats (*Zutts*) (Lewis, ii: 488-9).

In the 9th century, the main references to the Jats come from *Futuh al-Buldan*, one of the earliest Arab chronicles written by Al-Baladhuri (d.892-93 CE). This work contains an account of the first conquest of the Arabs in West Asia. Egypt. India etc and throws precious light on the position of the Jats of Sind. Al-Baladhuri in his works states:

He marched to Kikan against the Jats whom he defeated and subjugated. He built a city there which he called Al-Baiza, "the white" and he posted a military force there Then he made war upon the Meds, and killed three thousand of them. There he constructed a *band* which is called "Sakrul Med", *Band of the Meds*. He encamped on the river at Alrur. There he summoned the Jats, who came to his presence, when he sealed their hands, took from them the *jizya* (capitation tax) and he ordered that every man of them should bring a dog with him when he came to wait upon him,-hence the price of a dog rose to fifty *dirhams*. He again attacked the Meds, having with him the chief men of the Jats. He dug a canal from the sea to their tank, so their water became salt; and he sent out several marauding expeditions against them.

The evidence provided by Baladuri further testifies the presence of the Jats in Sind during the 9th century. The main settlements of the Jats are found at Kikan and Alrur, in the region of Multan in Upper Sind. This evidence highlights the constant movements of the Jats into Upper Sind from the Central Sind in previous century. This is the first account of the imposition of *Jizya* on the Jats by Amran, the Arab governor of Sind in 836 CE. The payment of *Jizya* by the Jats somewhat altered their social status as now they were regarded as protected subjects (*Zimmis*) (Al-Baladhuri: 128).

The argument that *az-Zuth* (Jats) referred as the Hindus is in line with al-Biruni's idea. At the beginning of 11th century, al-Biruni, in his *Tahqiq al-Hind*, recorded his observation:

A messenger of this kind is, according to the belief of the Hindus, *Vasudeva*, who was sent the last time in human shape, being called *Vasudeva*. It was a time when the giants were numerous on earth and the earth was full of their oppression; it tottered, being hardly

able to bear the whole number of them and it trembled from the vehemence of their treading. Then there was born a child in the city of Mathura to *Vasudeva* by the sister of *Kamsa*, at that time ruler of the town. They were a Jatt (*az-Zuth*): family, cattle-owners, low *Sudra* people.

Al-Biruni's observation of the Jats was historically remarkable as it happens to be the first reference to the Jats as 'Sudras'. This piece of evidence throws abundant light on the social phenomenon that despite the Jats having gained economic and military strength by the 11th century, they were yet regarded as the 'Sudra' and 'low' people. This also shows that their ritual status was not consistent with their newly acquired economic and military advancement.

This theory enjoys wide support and a sixth-century inscription also refers to the marriage of *Jit* prince with *Yadu* princess (Tod: 914-15). The *Yadus* though somewhat above the *Jat* status of 'low Sudra' of the 11th century, were well-nigh approaching it, being little esteemed by the more orthodox Aryan tribes with monarchical constitution (Wilson: p. 602-3). The *Jat* race is regarded by Campbell as belonging to the Aryan family, but to have to appeared in India later than the Brahminical hindus. The Jats are Hindu in much of their speech laws and manners, but have some grammatical forms of speech not to be traced in the earlier brahminical writings (Balfour, ii: 151).

However, during the wars which raged over northern India for hundreds of years many Jats were forced to become Muslims—often at the point of a sword. As a result of persistent Muslim persecution of Hindus during the Mughal Empires, there arose in the Panjab a new religious leader, Guru Nanak, the founder of Sikhism. His message was that God is one and that there is neither a Hindu nor a Muslim. Unfortunately, in time this message became so diluted that the Sikhs became as fanatically anti-Muslim as the Muslims had been anti-Hindus. Under the 10th Guru, Guru Gobind Singh, the Sikhs were organized as an army in opposition to the Muslim Emperors, the bulwark of which were the Jats, the first converts (Nijjar: 73).

Migration of az-Zuth (Jats) to the Arab World

In so far as the Gulf coast was concerned, a considerable number of Indians appear to have migrated there in the pre-Islamic era "either to establish businesses, seek employment with Arab traders, or just to escape instability at home. Among the seven Indian groups that migrated to Arabia and settled down in Bahrain, Oman and Obulla (Basra) at this period were the Zuth (known in India as Jats), the Bayasira, and the Siabja. Thus, at the time of the advent Of Islam, there were many Indian settlers in Arabia who were involved in various activities. Apparently all these groups completely assimilated into the respective societies of their migration.

Medieval Arab sources provide the earliest evidence of the presence of colonies of Indian merchants in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea areas. 'They reveal that Hindu merchants were present in the port of Shiraj on the Persian shore of the Gulf at least in the ninth century and that they also frequented the

coasts of Oman, Socotra and Aden" (Gopal, 1998; Markovits, 2000:10). Sindhi and Gujarati merchants, both Hindu and Muslim played a dominant role in maritime trade and finance across the Indian Ocean (Markovits, 2000). During the later medieval period there was a considerable amount of exchange of Arab and Indian scholars and religious leaders. According to Maqbool Ahmad (1971:38):

The establishment Of Muslim Kingdoms in the South and the introduction of the Arab educational system and the Sharia brought in its trail a large number of Arab theologians, jurists and men of learning to India throughout the later medieval period. As will be noticed some Indian Muslim scholars also visited the Arab countries and acquired eminent positions in their respective fields of knowledge there.

Vasco da Gama noted the presence of Indians on the shores of East Africa in 1498 and subsequently in the ports of the Red Sea and in the interior of the Arabian Peninsula (Gopal, 1997: 220). Port towns of Mocha and Aden and inland cities of Taif and Sanna were also inhabited by the Indians of Ormuz (Gopal, 1998). The ruins of a Hindu temple were found at Kalhat, the principal Omani port of the fifteenth century which further suggests a settlement of Indians in Oman (Miles, 1966: 526). The Persian Commander Hurmuz used Jat soldiers against Khalid Bin Walid in the battle of 'salasal' of 634 A.D. (12 hijri). It is said that since the Jats used to fight by tying chains to their feet, this battle is called *Harb-e-Salasal* (battle of chains). This was the first time that Jats were captured by the Arabs (Abdullah: 8). The Persian King Yazdjard had also sought the help of the Sindh ruler who sent Jat soldiers and elephants which were used against the Arabs in the battle of Qadisia.

According to Tibri, Hazrat Ali had employed Jats to guard Basra treasury during the battle of Jamal. "Jats were the guards of the Baitul Maal at al-Basra during the time of Hazrat Osman and Hazrat Ali." Amir Muawiya had settled them on the Syrian border to fight against the Romans. It is said that 4,000 Jats of Sindh joined Mohammad bin Qasim's army and fought against Raja Dahir. Sindhi Jats henceforth began to be regularly recruited in the Muslim armies. Arnold J. Toynbee states in his "A Study of History":

"Some of the Zutt deserters from the Persian army were transplanted in 670 A.D. by Caliph Muawiya from Basrah to Antioch. When the Arabs conquered Sindh, another batch of Zutts whom the conquerors had up rooted from their native pastures seem to have been sent to Syria by Hajjaj (691-713 A.D.) and eventually sent on by the Caliph Walid I (707-15 A.D.) to join the previous batch of Zutt deportees at Antioch whence some, again, were sent on by the Caliph Yazid II (720-24 A.D.) to Massisah in Cilicia..... But the bulk of Hajjaj's deportees from Sindh seem to have been settled in Iraq. In the reign of Abbasid Caliph Mansur (813-33 A.D.) they broke into a rebellion which it took him and his successor Mutasim (833- 42 A.D.), the best part of 20 years to quell Whether there had or had not been a voluntary immigration as

well as a compulsory deportation of Zutt to Iraq from Sindh, we may take it that in the course of the first two centuries of Arab rule, manpower from western India (i.e., Pakistan) had in one way or another been pouring into a south-western Asia that, on the eve of the Arab conquest, had been depopulated by the two last and most devastating of the Romano-Persian wars."

Indian King (*Malik al-Hind*) in Prophetic Tradition (Hadith)

The Hindu King, Chakrawati Farma traveled to Mecca to meet Prophet Muhammad and lived in Arabia for a while. A tradition of the Holy Prophet has also been reported from one of the companions, Abu Said Al-Khudri, regarding the arrival of Cheraman Perumal "a king from India presented the Messenger of God with a bottle of pickle that had ginger in it. The Holy Prophet distributed it among his companions. I also received a piece to eat." This incident was recorded in *Mustadrak 'ala as-Sahihain* (Al-Hakim, vol. 5: 62):

حَدَّثَنَا عَلَيْهِ بْنُ حَمْسَانٍ الْعَدْلُ، ثنا الْعَبَّاسُ بْنُ الْفَضْلِ الْأَشْفَاطِيُّ، وَمُحَمَّدُ بْنُ عَالِيٍّ، قَالَا: ثَنَا عَمْرُو بْنُ حَكَمٍ، ثَنَا شَعْبَهُ، أَخْبَرَنِي عَلَيْهِ بْنُ زَيْدٍ، قَالَ: سَمِعْتُ أَبَا الْمُتَوَكِّلِ، يُحَدِّثُ عَنْ أَبِي سَعِيدِ الْخُرَرِيِّ رَضِيَ اللَّهُ عَنْهُ: "أَهْدَى مَلِكُ الْهَمَدِ إِلَى رَسُولِ اللَّهِ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَيْهِ وَآلِهِ وَسَلَّمَ حَزَّةً فِيهَا زَجْبِيلٌ، فَأَطْعَمَ أَصْحَابَهُ قِطْعَةً قِطْعَةً، وَأَطْعَمَنِي مِنْهَا قِطْعَةً"

In addition, the story of Cheraman Perumal was also documented in an old manuscript in *Indian Office Library*, with reference number, Arabic, 2807, 152-173. It was also quoted by Muhammad Hamidullah in his work 'Muhammad Rasulullah':

"There is a very old tradition in Malabar, South-West Coast of India, that Chakrawati Farma, one of their kings, had observed the splitting of the moon, the celebrated miracle of the Holy Prophet (pbuh) at Mecca, and learning on inquiry that there was a prediction of the coming of a Messenger of God from Arabia (Detail given below), he appointed his son as regent and set out to meet him. He embraced Islam at the hand of the Prophet, and when returning home, at the direction of the Prophet, died at the port of Zafar, Yemen, where the tomb of the "Indian king" was piously visited for many centuries."

Based on the explanation above, it can be highlighted that az-Zuth/Jatts referring as the Hindus were present in Arabia even during the Prophet Muhammad's time. They were doing trade and business and other professions like physician. These facts also prove that Muslims and Hindus lived in peace and harmony and had mutual relationship.

D. Conclusion

In conclusion, History of Hinduism in Arabian Peninsula was related with Indo-Arabs relations that date back to ancient times as early as 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C and continued in Islamic era under the prophet Muhammad and his companions. The relations between these nations were not only in trade and commerce but also in religion, culture and social. The proofs to assert the

emergence of Hinduism in the Arabian Peninsula are *first*, the existence of the Hindu people especially *az-Zuth* (Jatts) inhabited in the Arabs as narrated by Imam al-Bukhari. This fact is also supported by some hadiths narrated by 'Aisyah found in *Adab al-Mufrad* which give a brief description of Zuth's profession as a physician (*tabib*). *Second* is the Prophet Muhammad's diplomatic relations with the Hindu king (*malik al-hind*) called Cheraman Perumal or *Sarbatak*. The interesting thing is the medieval Muslim scholars like Shahrestani and Al-Biruni classify the Hinduism as Sabeans and has monotheistic in nature, it should be understood the common ground between the Abrahamic faiths of Judaism, Christianity, Islam and the Asian religions of Hinduism, Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism, Sikhism, Jainism, Zoroastrianism.

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SOUTHEAST ASIAN ISLAMIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE: RE-EXAMINING THE CLAIM OF THE UNITY AND UNIVERSALITY OF ISLAMIC ART

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Abstract: This paper tries to re-examine the claim of unity and universality of Islamic art, whose discussion usually disregards Islamic art and architecture in Southeast Asian context. The question raised is where Islamic art in the Malay world should be put before the claim of the unity and universality of Islamic art and whether this claim is, thus, still valid. To meet this objective, the two heritages of Javanese Islamic art, Demak and Cirebon mosques and wayang, are presented and analyzed before such universal claim and pre-Islamic Javanese art. These Javanese expressions have unique features compared to those from the older Muslim world. The mosques lack geometric ornamentation and Qur'anic calligraphic decoration, and are rich with symbolism. However, both the mosques and wayang also clearly express the figurative designs. Thus, this paper argues that instead of geometric designs as the unified character of Islamic art as some argue, it should be the abstraction of motifs. This way, the universal claim of Islamic art accommodates the artistic expressions from the wider regions, including those from Southeast Asia. Besides the abstraction, these Javanese artistic expressions also shares other universal character of traditional development of Islamic art, that is its ability to always considering the local tradition while maintaining the basic principle of Islamic art. Javanese Islamic art is both Islamic and uniquely Javanese. In the midst of globalization and the contemporary tendency towards "Islamic authentication" by importing anything from the Middle East, including the mosque architecture, the latter character is vital. It tells that any direct import and implantation of other or foreign traditions to a certain region without any process of considering the local tradition and context has no basis and legitimization in Islamic artistic tradition.

Keywords: Islamic Art And Architecture, Southeast Asia, Universality

Introduction

Most scholars claim that, in despite of the diversity, there is a sense of unity and universality in Islamic art. They argue differently about the variables that constitute this universality. Titus Burckhardt says that it is the architecture and ornamentation that become the prototypes ceaselessly reproduced

according to circumstances.⁶⁹ Ieoh Ming Pei, talking about the essence or heart of Islamic architecture, describes it the following, “when sun brings to life powerful volumes and geometry plays a central role.”⁷⁰ In other words, Pei considers geometry as the universal variable of Islamic art. In addition, regions usually covered in the discussion of Islamic art are from Spain to South Asia, while Southeast Asia and West Africa are rarely brought into discussion.⁷¹ In fact, the two are part of the Muslim world.

This paper is an attempt to visit Islamic art in the Southeast Asian context and view it from the perspective of the above claim. Hence, the question is where Islamic art in the Malay world should be put before the claim of the unity and universality of Islamic art and whether this claim is still valid. Rather than surveying artistic expressions from different places in the region, it focuses on those in the fifteenth/sixteenth century of Java. Java was the center where Islamization eventually expanded rapidly in the Malay world under the legacy of an “organization” or a network of ‘ulama’ called the *Wali Songo* (nine *walis*).⁷² Islamic art and architecture that was developed during this period marked the shift from pre-Islamic art into Javanese Islamic art that eventually influenced the development of Islamic art in the Southeast Asian context.

Islamic Art and Architecture in The Context of the Islamization of the Malay World

Discussing Islamic art and architecture in the Malay world cannot be separated from the period of its Islamization in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Malay world had been introduced to Islam since the earlier period through international trade or sufism.⁷³ Scholars however agree that

⁶⁹ Titus Burckhardt, *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning* (Bloomington: World Wisdom, 2009), p. 125.

⁷⁰ An interview with Ieoh Ming Pei. See Sahiba Al Khemir, *From Cordoba to Samargand: Masterpieces from the Museum of Islamic Art in Doha* (Paris: Musee du Louvre Editions, 2006), p. 34.

⁷¹ See Titus Burckhardt’s *Art of Islam: Language and Meaning*; Robert Hillendbrand, *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function and Meaning* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994); Robert Irwin, *Islamic Art in Context: Art, Architecture and the Literary World* (New York: Arbrams Perspectives, 1997); Oleg Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1973); Oliver Leaman, *Islamic Aesthetics: Introduction* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004); Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *Islamic Art and Spirituality* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1987). A book dedicated to discuss Islamic Art in Southeast Asian context is James Bennet (ed.), *Crescent Moon: Islamic Art and Civilization in South East Asia* (Canberra: Art Galley of South Australia, 2006).

⁷² Whether *Wali Songo* is historical or merely a legend has been a topic of debate among scholars. Ricklefs states that it is difficult to determine the case because there is no enough documentary evidence. See Ricklefs, p. 5. Others insist they are historical. See Agus Sunyoto, *Atlas Wali Songo: Buku Pertama yang mengungkap Wali Songo sebagai Fakta Sejarah* (Depok: Pustaka Ilman, 2012), p. 123. Lapidus seems take the existence of the *walis* for granted. See Lapidus, p. 392.

⁷³ There are different theories explaining the first encounter of Islam in the Malay world. This discussion is beyond the scope of this paper. For further information, see Ira M. Lapidus, *A History of Islamic Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 383-384;

Islam was accepted by the majority of the population not until this period.⁷⁴ Agus Sunyoto states that this success was due to the creative educational, political and cultural approaches of the *walis* to attract people to Islam.⁷⁵ In a cultural sense, through assimilation and synthesis by transforming the existing cultural heritage in accordance with Islam, the *walis* could communicate Islam in a form compatible with the beliefs held by the people.⁷⁶ In short, the early development of Islamic art and architecture in the Malay world was part and parcel of the process of Islamization of the region, which was in a period when Islamic art in the older Muslim world had developed in its sophisticated fashion. Secondly, Javanese beliefs before the coming of Islam were Hinduism, Buddhism and *Kapitayan*, a local religion. The three had been rooted in the cultural tradition of Javanese people. Due to the international trade, other influences also entered the region, such as from China, Champa, India, Persia and Arab.

In the following sections, the two expressions of Islamic art—the early mosques and *wayang* (shadow puppet)—are presented. The two are discussed in the context of Islamization process and the unity and universality of Islamic art.

The First Mosques: Localizing the Global Islam

Among the early mosques in Java are Demak mosque and Cirebon mosque whose founder was attributed to the *Wali Songo*. The Great Mosque of Demak, which is founded in 1479 before the establishment of the first Islamic Kingdom in Java, the Demak Kingdom, is the oldest mosque to be known in the Malay world. The mosque was renovated and believed to acquire its current form in the early sixteenth century.⁷⁷ Cirebon mosque was constructed in 1500.⁷⁸

The general characteristics of these mosques are: square ground-plan, multi-tiered pyramidal roof, four master columns (*soko guru*) to support the upper most part of the roof, the *qibla* wall extending to the outside to form the *mīhrāb*, an open veranda (*serambi*) and walled courtyard with gate(s). There are different opinions about from where the architects derived their architectural inspiration; either from traditional Javanese house or the one central space concept of Ottoman mosque.⁷⁹ Either way, when viewed from an Islamic context, the Javanese mosques represent a distinctive genre and form of their own that can be justly called the Javanese type.⁸⁰ Similarly, despite the fact that

M.C. Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 3-14.

⁷⁴ Ricklefs, p. 6, 12.

⁷⁵ Sunyoto, p. 107-140.

⁷⁶ Lapidus, p. 383.

⁷⁷ Ahmed Wahby, "The Architecture of the Early Mosques and Shrines of Java: Influences of the Arab Merchants in the 15th and 16th Century? Volume 1: The Text," *Dissertation* (Bamberg: Otto-Friedrich Universitat Bamberg, 2007), p. 55.

⁷⁸ Wahby, p. 58.

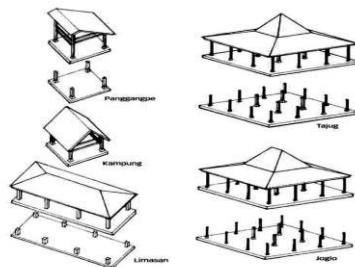
⁷⁹ Wahby, p. 151-152.

⁸⁰ Wahby, p. 168-169.

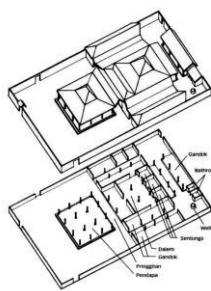
they are inspired by the already popular Javanese architectural design, they also exhibit a form that can only be justly regarded as Islamic.



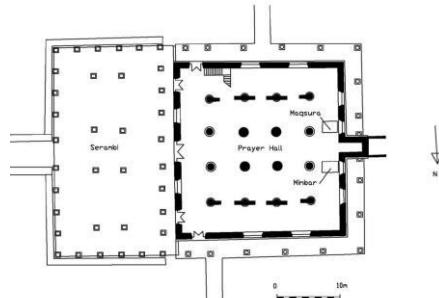
Belinese Meru roof



Javanese roof-types



Ground plan of the Javanese house



Ground plan of Demak Mosque



Cirebon mosque



Soko guru in the prayer hall of Demak mosque



Demak mosque

In Demak mosque, the *minbar* is constituted of carved wood in a Javanese fashion. The stylization of *makara* is appeared at the front side. *Makara*-type arch at the top is also found in the Cirebon mosque.⁸¹ The wooden surfaces are carved in floral and foliage designs, types of decoration also seen in the poles and columns supporting the construction of the mosques. The *mihrab* niche of Demak mosque displays the Majapahit⁸² sun motif, circular interlaced medallion and the turtle motive carved in the wall of the *mihrab*.⁸³ In Cirebon mosque, an arched niche is guarded by two cylindrical columns with lotus on top. A stone medallion is carved between the two columns depicting geometrical interlaced lines, combining Islamic geometric design with straight lines and sharp angles, and cursive ones.⁸⁴ A three dimensional carved lotus hangs down from the ceiling of the niche. In the case of Demak mosque, the doors' wooden leaves depict “*makara*-like beasts” and the ceramic vase originated from Champa, a region where the older *walis* came from. Another depiction in the other door is golden lotus flowers surrounded by spiraling stems and leaves.⁸⁵ Lotus becomes the center of the floral decoration in the main door of Cirebon mosque. The frame of the door, which has a gate shape, and the wall in the right and left side of the door, are decorated with geometric designs.

⁸¹ Wahby, p. 58.

⁸² Majapahit was the last great Hindu-Buddhist Kingdom that fell soon before the rise of Demak Kingdom. It is aimed to get the support of the Majapahit or the people who are still in admiration of the falling Kingdom. Wahby, p. 54.

⁸³ Wahby, p. 54. The Javanese term or turtle is *bulus*. *Bu* and *lus* would mean “to enter gently,” which imply the conversion to Islam.

⁸⁴ Wahby, p. 59.

⁸⁵ Wahby, p. 54.



The *minbar* of Demak mosque



The *minbar* of Cirebon mosque



The *mihrab* of Demak mosque
(The tiles are later renovation)



The *mihrab* of Cirebon mosque



The door leaves of Demak mosque





The door of Cirebon mosque



Carved woods in Demak mosque



Carved woods in Cirebon mosque

The early mosques' ornamentation is a combination of several traditions, particularly existing local tradition (Javanese Hinduism-Buddhism) and Islam. The pre-Islamic decoration and symbolism that are still found in these mosques are: *tumpals*, *kala-makaras*, lotus buds, and scrolls, which are changed to conform the Islamic art tradition. In pre-Islamic context, it is believed that “*tumpals* signify the Cosmos Mountain where gods abide; *kala-makaras* protect the temples of the gods; lotus buds denote creation; and scrolls imply the start of life.”⁸⁶ This continuity shows that early Javanese Muslims still considered Hindu-Buddhist symbolical ornaments as “a mystic way to approach God.” However, unlike Hindu-Buddhist temples, in which the decoration should follow the narratives in the sacred text, there is a sense of more freedom in decorating the mosque. The adoption of existing form can also be seen as a strategy to attract new converts or prospective converts to enter the building and receive Islam. In this case, architecture became the mediator for introducing people to Islam.⁸⁷ Only later were those architecture and ornaments' meaning transformed into Islamic narrative by the Sufis.⁸⁸

⁸⁶ Wahby, p. 137.

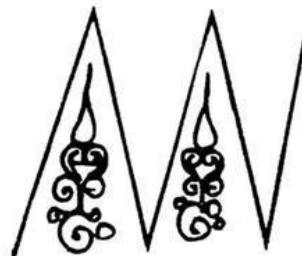
⁸⁷ Hee Sook Lee, “Al-Andalus and Java: Still a Sanctuary for Interconnecting Religions and Traditions,” *Journal of Religious Science*, 44/2012, p. 91.

⁸⁸ Wahby, p. 165. For example, a three-tiered roof is believed to symbolizes a link between God and Muslims, representing *iman*, *islam* and *ihsan*, or *tariqa*, *haqiqah* and *ma'rifa*. “A mustaka, a crown of red lotus at its apex, is a container of the essence of divine unity in Hinduism, but in Islam, it embodies the ultimate goal of the mystical path into God. Soko guru,

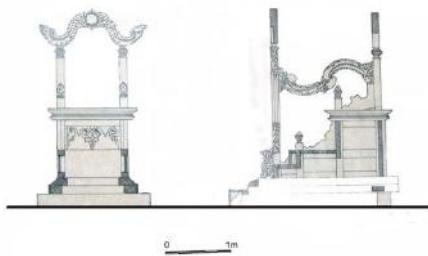


Chandi Kalasan. Decoration of a niche.

Kala-Makara in a Hindu temple



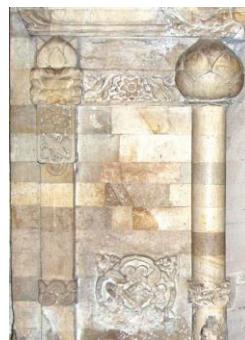
Tumpal



Makara and *tumpal* in the *minbar* of Demak Mosque



Lotus in Kalasan Buddhist temple



Lotus on the cylindrical column of

the four master columns, signifies the spiritual context: the verticality and centralisation express an ultimate unity between God and his believers which was continued from the Hindu belief in the identity of self and the universal soul.” See Hee Sook Lee, p. 91.

(dated in the ninth century)

the *minbar* of Cirebon mosque

As the earliest mosque, Demak mosque has been the template for mosques in the Malay world, at least until the nineteenth century. This influence was possible through the relation between Demak Kingdom and other Kingdoms in the region, and the relation between the *walis* and their students and communities in the area. Several mosques following the prototype of Demak mosque, at least in its spatial design, are: Kampung Laut mosque in Malaka,⁸⁹ Sultan Suriyah mosque in Banjar, Borneo (early sixteenth century), the Great Mosque of Mataram Kingdom (1773), Air Barok Village Mosque in Malaka (1916).⁹⁰ In much later period, Soeharto, the ex-president of Indonesia, promoted replicas of Demak mosque in a standardized form to be used nationwide.⁹¹



Kampung Laut mosque



Kauman great mosque



Air Barok village mosque



Sultan Suriyah mosque

The *Wayang*: Introducing Islam through the Popular Art

Before the period of *Wali Songo*, Javanese people had their own artistic accomplishments such as the *wayang* and *gamelan* orchestra.⁹² *Wayang* is the shadow puppet play, which uses leather or wooden puppets, dramatizing the

⁸⁹ Naimatul Aufa, “Tipologi Ruang dan Wujud Arsitektur Masjid Tradisional Kalimantan Selatan,” *Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 1(2): 2010, p. 54.

⁹⁰ Roslan B. Thalib and M. Zailan Suliman, “Mosque Without Dome: Conserving Traditional-Designed Mosque in Melaka, Malaysia,” *Journal of Islamic Architecture*, 1(3): 2011.

⁹¹ Abidin Kusno, , ““The Reality of One-Which-Is-Two”—Mosques Battles and Other Stories: Notes on Architecture, Religion and Politics in the Javanese World,” *Journal of Architectural Education*, 57(1): 2003, p. 62.

⁹² Lapidus, p. 382.

Javanese version of Indian epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, or the history of the kingdoms of Java.⁹³ The *walis* used and popularized this play to spread the message of Islam to the people by transforming the existing stories to be in line with Islamic doctrines and teachings, inserting Islamic doctrines, teachings and stories about the Prophets and adding new characters.⁹⁴ Some *walis* even created new stories. The success of this method is seen in the rapid growth of the Islamization of Java and the popular belief that it is the *walis* who created *wayang*, while in fact, it was dated before their period.⁹⁵ In modern times, considering the *dalang* (the puppet master) as the symbol of God is still popular among the Javanese people.⁹⁶



The puppet shadow play

Another Islamic influence on *wayang* is portrayed in the attempt of the *walis* to create non-realistic puppets to follow religious prescription restricting the portrayal of the living and breathing creatures.⁹⁷ Stylization of the puppets was similar to the context of Islamic figurative art in Persia.⁹⁸ There is no report where the *walis* received the idea from. It seems that the idea of denaturalizing the creature being popular in that period could easily reach the *walis*.

⁹³ Clifford Geertz, *The Religion of Java* (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), p. 261; Sumarsam, p. 50; Ricklefs, p. 53.

⁹⁴ See Ricklefs, p. 53. One popular insertion of Islamic doctrine is the narration that the elder Pandhawa brother, Yudhistira, has a powerful amulet called *Kalimasada*, which derived from *kalimah sabadat*, the Islamic profession of faith. See Sumarsam, “Past and Present Issues of Islam within the Central Javanese Gamelan and *Wayang Kulit*,” in David D. Harnish and Anne K. Rasmussen (eds.), *Divine Inspirations: Music and Islam in Indonesia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 54.

⁹⁵ Ricklefs, *A History of Modern Indonesia since c. 1300* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993), p. 53.

⁹⁶ What is involved in the *wayang* play (puppet master, light, shadow, *gamelan* orchestra) has been interpreted as spiritual and theological symbolization that corresponds to Ash'arism, a theology that corresponds to pre-Islamic belief of Javanese people. This topic is yet out of the scope of this paper. See Sumarsam, p. 59-60.

⁹⁷ James Bennet, p. 252

⁹⁸ Burckhardt, p. 32.



Balinese puppet depicted the figure of Arjuna. This puppet shows an older shape for *wayang* puppet.



The stylization of Arjuna in Javanese puppet



Balinese puppet for Yudhistira



Javanese puppet for Yudhistira

Is Javanese Islamic Art Part of Universal Islamic Art?

Contextualization of the principle of Islamic art in each local context has a set precedent in the history of Islamic art and architecture.⁹⁹ In fact, its uniqueness is that while it remains universal, it always has a local taste. Titus Burckhardt is true when he describes Islamic art as phenomena of “unity in diversity and diversity in unity.”¹⁰⁰ In this sense, I would say that first and foremost, what is universal in Islamic art lies in the ability of the artists to create an artistic expression that combines and considers both Islam and the local context. In light of this, the case of Javanese Islamic art is not totally unique. What is unique from the Javanese context is that Islamic art and architecture were developed as means for Islamization. To my knowledge, this narrative is not found in other contexts in the Muslim world.

Based on the observation of some mosques and *wayang* in the previous section, Javanese Islamic art is distinct to the common and unified features of Islamic art. In this early period, calligraphy was almost nonexistent in the mosques; while in fact, calligraphy is the central expression of Islamic art in the

⁹⁹ One example among many, *ivan* so celebrated in Iranian architecture was found from Iraq to Central Asia in the pre-Islamic period. See Hillenbrand, p. 24.

¹⁰⁰ Burckhardt, p. 125.

older Muslim world. Trying to understand this phenomenon, Ahmed Wahby states that Southeast Asia, in general, did not have a sense for written history; and early Islamic period in Java still carried out the practice.¹⁰¹ Reading from the perspective of the strategy of Islamization, introducing a completely new script in the building might go against the attempt to attract people to Islam. Another issue is with regard to symbolism. Islamic art, different from Medieval Christian art, has much less obsession to religious symbolism. As Robert Hillenbrand says, “[T]here was, it seems, no consistent association between any particular type of plan or elevation and a deeper symbolic meaning.”¹⁰² In another place, Burckhardt states that Islamic art reduced the archaic motifs into the most abstracted designs, taking away “every magical quality” and giving in return the “spiritual elegance.”¹⁰³ Conversely, as Javanese Islamic art was developed in the milieu of architectural symbolism, it was very rich of it—although it is also true that it practiced the stylization of previous symbols, such as *kala makara*. In these cases, it can be said that early Javanese-Islamic art breaks the common features of the established Islamic art and architecture.

Furthermore, there are some Islamic characteristics that inspired Javanese Islamic art and architecture. First, general attitude in Islamic art is the discouragement of depicting human beings or animals. As Buckhardt says, “figurative art plays only peripheral role” in Islamic art.¹⁰⁴ The impact in Javanese Islamic art is not the total eradication of it, but the abstraction or stylization, as in the case of *wayang* and ornamentation of animals disguised in the foliage and floral patterns. Second, the intensification, rather than the introduction, of floral and foliage designs, since the Malay world itself is rich in flora.¹⁰⁵ While Islamic art and architecture represented in the Javanese mosques and *wayang* are uniquely Javanese Islamic expression, they still captured the unified characters of Islamic art. Along this line, I argue that the abstraction of motifs is a more unified character of Islamic art than geometric designs as argued by Pei. The abstraction of motifs includes in it the denaturalization of the creature and geometric designs. This way, the unified character of Islamic art is able to include artistic expression from the wider scope of the Muslim world, including Southeast Asia and West Africa.

There are some answers to the question why Javanese Islamic art minimally shares the unity or universality of Islamic art, or to put it in a more positive statement, why a “characteristic regionalism” is very apparent. First, geographical factor. The geographical distance between the *dar al-Islam* and Southeast Asia can be argued as preventing the massive direct influence from

¹⁰¹ Wahby, 143.

¹⁰² Hillenbrand, p. 16-7. Hillenbrand indeed mentions some examples of symbolism in Islamic architecture. Yet, in general, Islamic architecture applies a natural focus of religious symbolism. *Mihrab*, for example, technically and theoretically means no more than a space showing the direction to *qibla*. See Hillenbrand, p. 18-19.

¹⁰³ Burckhardt, p. 66.

¹⁰⁴ Burckhardt, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ Wahby, p. 139.

the Islamic center into this region.¹⁰⁶ Other geographical issue, like climate, might be another significant factor. The building takes account the local profusion of natural resources and climates. Domes, minarets and geometric ornaments do not feature in this tradition. The multi-layered roofs and *soko guru* are suitable for weather with its heavy rain and humidity.¹⁰⁷ Second, external factor. The Malay world was never conquered by the Muslim army, but rather an influx of traders, adventures and Sufis. The Islamization of the Malay world was taken in the period after the peak of Islamic civilization and corresponded to the rise of European civilization and colonialism, which marks an interruptive moment for the development of different aspects of life. It also corresponded to the rise of Sufism in the Islamic world, an aspect of Islam known to be more tolerant that allows assimilation between cultural heritage and Islam. Third, internal factor, which is the open character of Malay people to changes without necessarily discarding their heritage.¹⁰⁸ Abidin Kusno interestingly describes the way Java conceives of, or responds to, the external influence. Javanese people view that Islam was a guest in Java. As a guest, it should make itself fit to the context of the householder. From this point of view, mosques, as architectural works, became the site of negotiations between global Islam and Java.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Presenting the artistic expressions of the Malay world, particularly Java, this paper tries to re-examine the claim of unity and universality of Islamic art, whose discussion usually disregards Islamic art and architecture in the Southeast Asian context. Islamic art and architecture in Java was developed as means for massive Islamization of Java and the Malay world. This narrative, to my knowledge, is uniquely Javanese. Despite the fact that Islam flourished in the Malay world in a much later period after the advent of Islam, Javanese Islamic art still shares unified characteristic of Islamic art worldwide, namely the abstraction of motifs. Geometrical designs as the other universal character of Islamic art is not developed sophisticatedly in the Malay world due to some factors; geographical, internal and external. Besides the abstraction, the other character of the traditional development of Islamic art is its ability to always considering the local tradition. Again, the assimilation of pre-Islamic Javanese tradition and Islam expressed in the Javanese Islamic art and architecture is a phenomenon shared with other contexts in the Muslim world. It is this principle that should be remembered in the midst of globalization. In the modern Indonesia, for example, for the sake of “Islamic authentication,” the Javanese Islamic art and architecture have been replaced by those from the

¹⁰⁶ Hee Sook Lee, p. 88.

¹⁰⁷ Hee Sook Lee, p. 88.

¹⁰⁸ Hee Sook Lee, p. 88.

¹⁰⁹ See Abidin Kusno, p. 57.

older Muslim world.¹¹⁰ In fact, if Indonesian Muslims want to continue the legacy of Islamic tradition, what should be developed is, instead, creating Islamic artistic works expressing a continuous dialogue between Islamic tradition and local tradition.

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¹¹⁰ In Indonesia and in the worldwide, in my opinion, colonialism as the interruption of the development of Islamic civilization and the new-colonialism era with its globalization marked the distance of Islamic world with its tradition. In Indonesia, traditional architecture of mosque is replaced by architecture from the older Muslim world. The obvious indicator would be the replacement of traditional roof to the doom. See, Achmad Haldani Destiarmand and Imam Santosa, "Impact of Islamic Authentication towards Traditional Ornaments in Great Mosques in West Java, Indonesia," *Tawarikh: International Journal for Historical Studies*, 5(1): 2013.

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تراث التقاليد الإسلامية في الحكمة المحلية فنون السلام عليكم والمساهمات لتشكيل الشخصية الوطنية الاندونيسية

فوجياتي

جامعة سومطرة الشمالية (USU))

الجهة العلمية التابع لها : تراث التقاليد الإسلامي

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الملخص : اندونيسيا غنية في الحكمة المحلية لابد المحافظة عليها وسينقرض هذه الحكمة ان لم يحافظ واحد من التراث التقاليد الإسلامي فهي القصيدة (فنتون) لأن فيه التقاليد اللسان يتضمن فيه النصيحة الدينية بعلم الأخلاق الكريمة ل المجتمع اندونيسيا. فنون واحد من تراث التقاليد الإسلامي اندونيسيا الذي نجد في العرف .والقصيدة فنون السلام عليكم وهو السلام باللغة العربية التي يستعمل الجميع سلام. والسلام عليكم من السنة النبوية محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم الذي يعلق الأخوية الإسلامية في كل العالم.

وشيء جيل أن في قصيدة ملايو هناك قصيدة ترحيبية بهذه الصيغة (السلام عليكم) مثل:

نشر الرائحة المعطرة الوردة والياسمين

السلام عليكم يا أصدقائي قلت النحبة بكل إخلاص

الطيبين

في هذه قصيدة فيها الحكمة المحلية يوجد رمز في الكلمة (وردة وياسمين) وباستعمال صيغة السلام لنشر المحبة والأخوة بين البشر، المعاونة والتعاون والحكمة المحلية القصيدة السلام في تربية الوطنية.

الكلمات المفتاحية: تراث التقاليد الإسلامي، قصيدة

المقدمة

الإسلام هو دين يحب الفن لأن الإسلام ليس الدين الذي ذات الصلة بين الإنسان مع الإنسان فقط أو الإنسان مع مخلوق الآخر وكذلك الإنسان مع الله سبحانه وتعالى . اذا كانت هناك صلة الجيدة فكل ناحية حياة الأمة الإسلامية وسيجيبي بطريقة الإسلامية. الفن كما عرفنا يتضمن بين عناصر وهي الصوت وحركة الجسم وغيرها . والفن في الإسلام ليس حرام لأن الفن يجعل الحياة بالجمال والإلهام ويتقن فيه . ولكن لابد يعرف لكل واحد منا أن الفن يؤثر في التقدم في روح الأمة الإسلامية . يحتاج إلى موقف الإهتمام والخبر إلى الفن الذي لا يوافق مع العقيدة الإسلامية في اندونيسيا ككودا كفاغ، دبوس، بمبوكلا وغيرها من الفن الذي يحتوي فيه السحر يهدى عن ذكر الله تعالى.

واحد من التراث التقاليد الإسلامي الجيد سيستمر حتى الآن وهي فنون (القصيدة) لأنها تقاليد الإسلامي على سكل للسان ويتضمن معناه في النصيحة الإسلامية وتعلم الأدبي للمجتمع اندونيسيا . والقصيدة (فنتون) واحد من التراث الإسلامي التي تجد في التقاليد والعرف وها يتبعون الأنسان في معاملته . العادة لغة: التي نكلمها ونعملها ونكررها في

حياتها. كأنها يقبل الروح وعقل السليم، ومصطلح الآخر عن العادة فهي العرف لغة : معناها الشيء المشهور كانه اللطيف ويقبل عقل السليم. (دسوقي، 1994:58)

فتنتون هي القصيدة أو الشعر الشعبي الذي يتغنى بها في التاريخ الأدب أن فنتون والقصص المعروفة ظهر أول المرة في التاريخ ملابو في عصره. الكلمة فنتون لها اصل الكلمات الكثيرة من اللغة جاوا (باريك) معناها المثل وكذاك في اللغة ملابو معناها متقاربان اصل الكلمة من الهند. فنتون من الأدب باللسان كتبه أول المرة الحاج ابراهيم داتؤ كايا مودا من ريو الذي عاش في زمانه مالك علي حاج. الجموعة فنتون اول المرة وهي مجموعة فنتون (قصائد) ملابو. وكذلك أن فنتون من انواع الشعر القديم قد أشتهر بمعرفته في اللغة نوشتن. واصل الكلمة فنتون مأخذ من الكلمة فنتون من اللغة منجكباو الذي معناه فنتون. في اللغة جاوا عرف باريكا، في اللغة شندا عرف باريكا وفي اللغة بتكي عرف أمفاسا. في البداية فنتون (القصيدة) من أسلوب الأدبي باللسان، والآن نجد فنتون مكتوبا. وفنتون له عنصران الأول، شطر الأول يتكون من الشطرين يتكلم فيه العلاقة عن الكون (الثقافة في المجتمع) وأما في شطر الأول التقليد ليس له العلاقة في شطر الأول بإصالة الهدف في الشجع وأما شطر الثاني والأخر هو لب الموضوع من فنتون (إي 23:2006) قالت أن علامات فنتون كمالي: تتكون من أربعة أشطوط وكل الشطر فيه تسعه الى عسرا الكلمات. الشطرين الأولين اسمه سفيران والشطرين الآخرين فيها الغاية من فنتون. في هذا القسم اسمه فنتون. إن فنتون هي وسيلة الى النصيحة وأخلاق الكريمة وإنما تأتي بأسلوب البيئة في المجتمع ولذلك لابد أن الدراسة في فنتون هو مدخل الى مفهوم الإجتماعي والثقافة في المجتمع.

مشكلات البحث

1. ما هي قيمة الحكمة المحلية في فنتون السلام عليكم أن يكون مفيدا في تشكيل شخصية الأمة ؟
2. ما هي الخطوات / سبل الحفاظ على الثقافة من خلال أزياء واحفاظ عليها من عالم الأبحاث والمؤسسات التعليمية والجمهور، وخاصة الشباب ؟

هدف البحث

- 1.للتعريف قيمة الحكمة المحلية في فنتون السلام عليكم أن يكون مفيدا في تشكيل شخصية الأمة.
- 2.للتعريف الخطوات / سبل الحفاظ على الثقافة من عالم الأبحاث والمؤسسات التعليمية والجمهور، وخاصة الشباب

2.1 منهجهية

هو نهج في مجال البحوث الاجتماعية التي ترکز على الإنسان والحياة واللغة والثقافة والمصطلحات المستخدمة (كيرك، 1986). البحث النوعي هو إجراء البحوث التي تنجي البيانات في شكل كليات المكتوبة والمنطقية على الناس والأشياء التي يمكن ملاحظتها وتحليل اتباع القواعد العالمية (بغداد، 1975). ويستخدم هذا الأسلوب للحصول على فهم أعمق لختلف الحياة الاجتماعية، الذي وقع فيه الحديث Babie) ، 2002 كل نهج نوعي ذات الصلة المستخدمة في دراسة بعنوان "قيمة الحكمة المحلية في الشعر ويرجع الفضل في تشكيل الشخصية الوطنية: دراسة Antropolinguistics العربية". كرس لديه المعرفة المحلية التي يتعين المحافظة عليها بوصفها مستودعا للمعرفة والتكنولوجيا في تشكيل شخصية الأمة.

3.1 النتائج

معنى ثقافة محلية فيها روح الإسلام هي كل انواع الفنون الذي له اصل ويتقدم في المجتمع ويتاثر مع الإسلام. الفنون والثقافة والتقاليد المحلي في روح الإسلام التي ينفع كثيرا في نشر الإسلام لاجل جيل الإسلام المستقبلا. أن نقدر في بعض الأمور من الفنون والحضارة وهي الحافظة والتقدم والتعاطف وتقدر بالإخلاص من المؤلفات القدماء

والتقاليد المحلي. فيه السيء وفيه الحسن. والتقاليد الحسن نخضله حتى صار تراث الثقافة والوطنية وأما التقاليد السيئة
تبعد منه حتى لا يأخذ لحي المستقبل- <http://rohisspn14depok.wordpress.com/kbm-pai/tradisi>-)
islam-di-nusantara/()

القصيدة من من انواع التأدن غايتها هي الحضارة معنى من التأدن والمدنية في اللغة الاندونيسيا كلها بمعنى واحد ليس فيها مشكلة. ولكن في اللغة الانجليزية لكل منها الفرق الكلمة التأدن و الثقافة وكذلك في اللغة العربية التأدن والمدنية حضارة و الثقافة لكل منها فيه الفرق والترجمة والحضارة و الثقافة تستعمل هو التقدم العلمي في الشعر والأدب ويتضمن معنى العلمي المزمع ذات الصلة الإجتماعية اللطيف وبعض المؤلف يستعمل الإصطلاح الكلمة الحضارة في بعض كتبه اسلامي و الثقافة الإسلامية.

3.2 الحكم المحلية وبناء الشخصية من قبل قصيدة (السلام عليكم)

كل دول لها مصادر خاصة و مختلفة في بناء الشخصية لجتمتها. الشخصية هي المعاني والأفكار والأقوال والسلوك . أي الأفعال التي تكون نفسية المرأة. المعاني والأفكار والأقوال والأفعال من هذه الشخصية هي تكون جزء من هوية وسلوكها.

في الحقيقة، لبناء الشخصية يؤخذ من قيم ثقافة دولتنا، بل لا بد من من فهم عناصر الشخصية العامة التي هي مهمة أن يتعلموا المتعلمون.

فهنا ثمان عناصر لهذه الشخصية :

1. الصدق 2. الرحمة 3. حسن الختبار 4. الشجاعة 5. الاطمئنان 6. ضبط النفس 7. التعاون 8. العمل بالنشاط

في بعض التعليم لتطوير الثقافة والتعليم وبناء شخصية الشعب. وزارة التعليم الوطني قد وضعت أكثر القيم (18 قيم) التي تطررت وتعلموا المتعلمون. وهذه القيم أن نصفها كما في الجدول الآتي:

القيمة	الوصف	قصيدة السلام عليكم
القيمة الدينية	سلوك الماء في طاعة امتثال أوامر الدين، تسامح في قيام العبادة من الديانة الأخرى ويكون في وثام المعيشة	فيه قيمة دينية
الصدق	الذي يقدّس إلى الحوله ان يجعل نفسه انسانا صادقا في الأفعال والأقوال	يملك الدعاء و الصدق والإخلاص
التسامح	الموقف والأفعال يحترم الفروق الدينية والقبيلة والعرقية والأراء والمواافق للآخرين الذي يخالف مع نفسه	يملك قيمة الأخوية واحترام مع بعض
العمل بالجميد	الأفعال التي تدل محاولة الجهد في التحليل بعض الصعوبات الدراسية والوظيفة ونجاز العمل بأحسن العمل	
الإنضباط	الموقف الذي يدل على الأفعال المنظم والمطيع إلى النظام والقوانين	

يملك قيمة الإبداعي بالعتب والسلام	التفكير والأفعال ليحصل الأسياء الجديد لم يكن من قبل	الإبداعي
	الموقف والأفعال لا يتعلق مع الناس الآخرين في إنهاء الوظائف	اعتقاد على النفس
يملك قيمة الاحترام الآخرين بطريقة الديمقراطي	طريقة الفكر والمواقوف مساواة بين الواجبات نفسه مع غيره	الديمقراطي
التשוק إلى التعارف والافتتاح بالسلام	الموقف والأفعال دائم المحولة إلى المعرفة والتوسع بالتعلم والتدبر والاستماع	التسوق
سلام الدولي الدين والثقافة	طريقة التفكير والتنبؤ أن تضع مصلحة الأمة والدولة لصالحة الفردية والجامعة	النشاط الوطنية
الاهتمام بالمجتمع	طريقة التفكير والمواقوف والأفعال تدل على الوفاء والاهتمام على قيمة اللغة، البيئة ، الاجتئاع، الثقافة، التقليد. الاقتصاد والسياسة الدولية	حب الوطن
سلوك الحسن بالسلام	المواقف في انتباه السعادة في التكلم، المعاملة والتعاون	الصهابة
الدعاء لسلام البشر	الموقف، الكلام، والأفعال التي تسبب في سرور الآخرين والأمن بحضور نفسه	حب السلام

4. المناقشة و / أو الاستنتاجات

الحضارة هي ثقافة محلية التي تجعل حضارة

نفسها كاللغة مثلاً أنها ثقافة محلية على الشكل من أعمال العلمي ثم صارت في التعبير أنه أفكار العلمية في المجتمع نهايته أن الحضارة تسمى الحضارة العالمية التي تشمل والحضارة الآخر في المجتمع. واللغة العربية في السياق حضارة الإسلامية، واللغة يونانية لحضارة Hellenistik وكذلك اللغة اللتين لحضارة الرومانية الخ والحضارة هو التقدم في المعرفة نفس الشيء. التقدم في الروح الفردية عند حياة الجماعي في المجتمع (سلیمان، 2014:36)

معنى ثقافة محلية فيها روح الإسلام هي كل أنواع الفنون الذي له أصل ويتقدم في المجتمع وبતارث مع الإسلام. الفنون والثقافة والتقاليدين المحلي في روح الإسلام التي ينفع كثيراً في نشر الإسلام. لاحل جيل الإسلام المستقبلاً. أن نقدر في بعض الأمور من الفنون والحضارة وهي المحافظة والتقدم والتعاطف وتقدّر بالإخلاص من يؤثرون

الحضارة هي ثقافة محلية التي تجعل حضارة نفسها كاللغة مثلاً أنها ثقافة محلية على الشكل من أعمال العلمي ثم صارت في التعبير أنه أفكار العلمية في المجتمع نهايته أن الحضارة تسمى الحضارة العالمية التي تشمل والحضارة الآخر في المجتمع. واللغة العربية في السياق حضارة الإسلامية، واللغة يونانية لحضارة Hellenistik وكذلك اللغة اللتين لحضارة الرومانية الخ والحضارة هو التقدم في المعرفة نفس الشيء. التقدم في الروح الفردية عند حياة الجماعي في المجتمع (سلیمان، 2014:36)

يؤكد ان أراء الأول هو أن التأدن قد تتقدم وتتطور من ناحية الأخرى نجد أراء يقول ان التأدن بصفة الأمل فقط وأما الثقافة هي التي تعمل فيهم الأمل قال كجنرات. والأسيء الذي يفرق بين التأدن والثقافة حقيقتها تقع في في التأدن وجود تعين الذي حصل المرء او المجتمع والتأدن للمجتمع تراه اطوار واقدام من المجتمع الآخر كالتقدم في العلم او تقدم في تكنولوجيا الحديثة فهو الشفافة والكلمة الحضارة معناها التقدم والتطور وت نتيجة عن ذلك ان الحضارة نوعان الأول الحضارة لها قيمة ناقصة والثاني الحضارة لها قيمة عالية تسمى الثقافة(35:ibid, 2014)

الفن في الإسلام جائز لأن الله سبحانه وتعالى يحب الجمال والهدف الأول من القرآن الكريم ان يقيم العدالة في المجتمع ومصدره من الأخلاق الكريمة التي ستبقى في وجه الأرض وأهم الشيء الأفراد من المجتمع الذي يحتاج الى خلقه او عكسه. هذه الأمور العلمية لأن الفرد والإجتماعية لا تستطيع ان يفصل بينها لا تكون الحياة الإجتماعية إلا مع الفرز وقد يتكلم القرآن عن موضوع الموت لكل الفردية مثله الفرعون والفرد اساسه هذا الأمور التي تقدم هي تدمير حياة المجتمع (رحان 1980:58)

هناك عناصر كثيرة في وهي المفهوم وال فكرة والعقيدة التي يتعلق بكل الفرد في تعريفه الواضح والسفاف سكل المنهج في العلوم. الأول مستوا التجريد يسمى تشكيل المنهج والثاني مستوى الأعلى هولاء العلماء والأديب والمهندس والمدرس وهولاء فهموا في التجريد الذي يطور العلماء ويعطي الانعكاس الثالث مستوى النشر هذه الدرجة الأعلى في التجريد الى التجسيد الأدنى

4.2 فنون القصيدة كالحضارة فيتراث التقاليد الإسلامية

أندونيسيا غنية بالحكمة المحلية التي لا بد من محافظتها من قبل شباب أندونيسيا حتى لا تكون منقرضا ، نستطيع القول أن كل المحافظات لديها حكم محلية، سومطرة شهالية من قبيلة ملايو مثلاو لها حكم محلية كثيرة وهي في تقاليد وطقوس، عبارة، قصيدة وامتناعات. وكلها محملة بالقيم التبليغية التي تحكم العلاقة بين البشر، العلاقة بين البشر مع الطبيعة وبين البشر مع ربه، من خوذج الحكم المحلية في قصيدة :

إلى بحيرة روفات لصيد الأسماك
لبعثر الشبكة وتجذيف الزروق
إذا كنت تذكر المستقبل
تكثر في خطط حياة المستقبل

الحكمة المحلية تنمو بين الشعب في العصر القديم تستطيع أن تحافظ على علاقة البشر مع الطبيعة . النتيجة الطبيعية تستطيع أن توفر كل الاحتياجات البشرية، تحافظ على العلاقة البشرية، تقلل وجود الصراع بين الإنسان مع الحيوانات وتقلل الكوارث الطبيعية وغير ذلك .

أما في العصر الحديث، الحكمة المحلية تخصص لحافظة علاقة البشر مع الطبيعة، علاقة البشر مع البشر، وعلاقة البشر مع رب العالمين.

السلام عليكم هو عبارة عن التحية في اللغة العربية، تستعمل عند مجتمع المسلمين، وهو سنة من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم التي تربط الأخوة الإسلامية بين المسلمين في كل العالم، ذكره سنة أما رده فحكمه فرض كفاية. وهذه الصيغة (السلام) أيضا يستعملها كثير من المجتمع النصارى لأن لها معنى السلامه من ذكرها وكذلك نفس المعنى بكلمة (شلوم) في اللغة الإبرانية.

وشيء جميل أن في قصيدة ملايو هناك قصيدة ترحيبية بهذه الصيغة (السلام عليكم) مثل:

الوردة والياسمين
نشر الرائحة المطرة
قلت التحية بكل إخلاص
السلام عليكم يا أصدقائي الطيبين
في هذه قصيدة فيها الحكمة المحلية بوجود رمز في كلمة (وردة وياسمين) وباستعمال صيغة السلام لنشر الحبة والأخوة بين البشر.

الحضارة هي تقدم المعرفة وهي تطور المعرفة في كل فرد في الحياة الاجتماعية في المجتمع. الظاهرة في الحضارة تقال الأساس غير الملاحظة أو بمعنى آخر الأساس المفاهيمي وهي طل إطار العمل العقلي لبيان سلوك البشرى بين المجتمع. وجود الحضارة مرتبط بالمفاهيم الأساسية للحضارة . أي ظاهرة الإنسان على أساس السلوك البشري.
والسلوك نوعان : سلوك ملحوظ وسلوك غير ملحوظ، كما قال Arspanslan الأساس في السلوك الملحوظ هو كل العمل والتصرف ومعطياتحدث إما بسبب أو بشرط عمل أما السلوك غير ملحوظ هو كل العملية العقلية إما مبررة لذلك أو أسباب ذلك.

تاريخ الحضارة إنما هو الحذارة نفسها، أي ترجع إلى بعض الإصطلاحات مثل الثقافة ، الممارسة، التأدن والأدب (اللغة العربية) ومن كلمة (اللغة الإنجليزية)
(Sulaiman 2014 : 108)

4.3 القصيدة فيها موعظة للمجتمع
القصيدة فيها موعظة حسنة موجهة للمجتمع الأندونيسي. استخدمنا كثير من مجمع ملايو في المناسبات الرسمية والفعاليات الخصصة على الأغلب لحسن الترحيب في تلك المناسبات.

القصيدة الجميلة التي فيها نصيحة رائعة للسماع وفيها حكمة مفيدة في تربية أخلاق المجتمع.
الاستعمال المتتالية من هذه المصطلحان من الحكم في مراجع اللغة العربية في القرون الوسطى كان يبحث على تطور الحضارة بأنها ترشد السلوك كما هو الذي يجب على كل فرد من المجتمع أن يتبعها. وربما أكثر ضرورة في الدوائر الحكومية ومن باب النصيحة الأخلاقية
ومن مثال الحكم كما قال سعدى
(Renard 2004 : 125)

من لم يجمع الذهب والفضة بـ، فثروته سوف تكون في نهاية المطاف لا تزيد عن الدرهم والمدينار، فإذا كنت تريد أن تتعمق في هذه الدنيا والآخرة كن كريما للناس كما مان الله كريما لك.

من عمل الذي قام به الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم في أوائل نزول الحج هو بناء الشخصية والطبع، فقبل أن يغير النظام الاجتماعي أو النظام الدولي فلا بد من إصلاح أخلاق المجتمع. والقوانين الجيدة لا تتم إلا من قبل هؤلاء الناس المهدىين ، حتى يعترف عده أنه صلى الله عليه وسلم أنه رجل صادق لذا لقب الرسول صلى الله عليه وسلم بالأمين
(Ali 2016 : 792).

أكيد صلى الله عليه وسلم أن الصدق أساس في شخصية حسنة.
"إن الصدق يهدي إلى البر وإن البر يهدي إلى الجنة وما يزال الرجل يصدق ويتحرج الصدق حتى يكتب عند الله صديقاً وإن الكذب يهدي إلى الفجور والفحشاء يهدي إلى النار وما يزال الرجل يكذب ويتحرج الكذب حتى يكتب عند الله كذاباً" (Ibid, 2016 : 792)

الأخلاق الكريمة التي يتحدث عنها القرآن هو أخلاق الرسول. أراد الرسول أن يطبع أخلاق أمته بالقرآن ، نرى من لمحات حياة الصحابة وخلفاء الراشدين الذين ولوا الخلافة الإسلامية عُرف أن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قد نال النتائج العظيمة من تكوين سلوك الحسن وهذه بعض قصائد (السلام عليكم) فيها نصيحة أخلاقية ولطائف وتعاون ، محبة وأخوة بين المجتمع التي تصور بوجود كلمة الزهور وغير ذلك:

Bunga sekuntum bunga melati

(باقية الزهور وباقية الياسمين)

Putih berseri harum baunya

(بيضاء متوجّمة معطرة)

Assalamualaikum dan selamat pagi (السلام عليكم وصباح الخير)

Semoga hari ini sehat dan bahagia

(تمنى لكم صحة وسعادة)

Siang- siang minum es tebu

(شرب شراب قصب في الظهيرة)

Paling enak minum di tugu

(أطبي الشراب نشره في نصب التذكار)

Assalamualaikum warga pantun seribu

Selamat pagi di hari minggu

(صباح الخير في يوم الأحد)

Buka album meniti hari

(فتح الألبوم متابعة الأيام)

Tersimpan memori kenangan lama

(محفوظة الذكريات القديمة)

Assalamualaikum selamat pagi

(السلام عليكم صباح الخير)

Nikmati kopi dan setangkai bunga

(نعم بالقهوة ورذاذ الزهور)

Angin malam membawa nikmat

(هواء الليل يأخذ النعمة الطيبة)

Malam mencium aroma kamboja

(الليل يشم رائحة كامبوديا)

Ku sampaikan salam kepada sahabat (أهينكم بالسلام يا أصحابي)

Assalamualaikum kata dibuka (السلام عليكم فتح الكلام)

Buah stroberi buah markisa
(من الفواكه فراولة وباشن فرويت)
Selamat pagi semuanya
(صباح الخير يا جميعا)
Masak ikan pakai asam lakom
(طهي السمك بحمض لاتوم)
Met pagi assalamualaikum
(صباح الخير والسلام عليكم)
Berdentum kilat di langit bintang
ازدهر البرق في نجوم السماء
Kulta menyambar berbalas balas
صاعقة البرق ترد بلا مقابل
Assalamualaikum saya ucapkan
السلام عليكم أنا أقول
Selamat pagi selamat beraktifitas
صباح الخير واعمل بنشاط
Izinkan hamba menjunjung hari
اسمحوا لي أشرف الكرم
Tangan dihulur salam diberi
اليد ثمّة والسلام نشر
Assalamualaikum selamat pagi
السلام عليكم وصباح الخير
Tuan dan puan saya hormati
سيداتي وساداتي المحرمين
Tidur lena dibuai mimpi
نوم عميق جاء بحلم
Mimpi berjumpa sang putrid
مقابل الأميرة في المنام
Berpimpin tangan menyanyi menari
تتكلّف وزرقص وغنّي
Assalamualaikum selamat pagi
السلام عليكم وصباح الخير
Ada Imam ada maknum
هناك إمام هناك مأمور

Sholat berjemaah banyak pahala
صلوة الجماعة كثرة الثواب
Aku ucapan assalamualaikum
أهنتكم بالسلام عليكم
Untuk kamu yang ku cinta
إليك أنت حبيبتي قلبي
Mentari telah tenggelam
قد تغرب الشمس
Suara azan magrib menggema
آذان المغرب قد سمع
Aku menjawab waalaikumsalam
واردة عليكم السلام
Untukmu yang juga kucinta
لك أنت حبيب روحي
Karena senang aku tersenyum
للفرح أنا مبتسم
Hati sedih matapun menangis
قلب حزين وعين تدمع
Saya ucapan assalamu alaikum
أنا أهنتك السلام عليكم
Untukmu gadis yang manis
لك يا فتاة حلوى
Yang manis manis itu gula
الذى حلو هو سكر
Yang asin namanya garam
الذى مالح هو ملح
Dengan senyum rasa gembira
باتسام وبفرح
Aku menjawab waalaikumsalam
أردكم وعليكم السلام
Buan mangga buah pisang
من الفواكه منجا وموز
Manis rasanya bila matang
طعمه حلو إن كان ناضجا

Assalamualaikum sayang
السلام عليكم يا أحبابي
Apa kabarmu sekarang
وما حالكم الآن يا أصدقائي
Buah manggis buah duku
من الفواكه منجيس و دوكو
Bila matang manis terasa
إن كان ناضجاً طعمه حلو
Waalaikum salam sayangku
وعليكم السلام يا حبيبي
Kabarku baik baik saja
حالى والحمد لله بخير
Duduk santai sambil ngopi
نجلس عند فنجان القهوة
Pisang goreng hidangannya
الموز المقلي قد يقدم
Assalamualaikum yaa akhi
السلام عليكم يا أخي
Sedang apa dirimu disana
ما الذي تفعلين هناك
Duduk di teras minum kopi
نجلس على الشرفة مع فنجان القهوة
Tidak lupa dengarkan tembang
ولا ننسا بسماع الأغنية
Waalaikumsalam ya akhi
وعليكم السلام يا أخي
Aku sedang istirahat
إنني الآن في الاستراحة
Pembuka salam pantun lucu
فتاح السلام بفكاهة

Pak camat jualan tomat
رئيس المحافظة يبيع الطماطم
Yang beli harus di hormat

والمشتري يجب أن يحترم
Apabila kita umat nabi Muhammad
إذا كنت أمة نبي محمد
Jawablah salam dengan semangat
(assalamualaikum wr. Wb)
الإجابة تحية السلام عليك ورحمة الله وبركته

4.4 الخلاصة :

أندونيسيا غنية بالحكمة المحلية التي لا بد من محافظتها من قبل شباب أندونيسيا حتى لا تكون منقرضا ، نستطيع القول أن كل المحافظات لديها حكم محلية، سومطرة شالية من قبيلة ملايو مثلًا لها حكم محلية كثيرة وهي في تقاليد وطقوس، عبارة، قصيدة وامتناعات. وكلها حملة بالقىام النبيلة التي تحكم العلاقة بين البشر، العلاقة بين الشر مع الطبيعة وبين البشر مع ربه، من نموذج الحكم المحلية في قصيدة:

السلام عليكم هو عبارة عن التحية في اللغة العربية، تستعمل عند مجتمع المسلمين، وهو سنة من النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم التي تربط الأخوة الإسلامية بين المسلمين في كل العالم، ذكره سنة أما رده فكمه فرض كفاية .

وشيء جميل أن في قصيدة ملايو هناك قصيدة ترحيبية بهذه الصيغة (السلام عليكم). تنشر الراالت التحية بكل إخلاص.

في هذه قصيدة فيها الحكمة المحلية يوجد رمز في الكلمة وياستعمال صيغة السلام لنشر الحبة والأخوة بين البشر، القبة الدينية، الصدق، التسامح، العمل بالجهاد، الديقراطي، النشاط، الوطنية، الصحة، حب السلام وغيرها

القصيدة فيها موعظة حسنة محبة للمجتمع أندونيسيا. استخدماها كثيراً من مجمع ملايو في المناسبات الرسمية والفعاليات الخصوصية على الأغلب لحسن الترحيب في تلك المناسبات.

والسلوك نوعان : سلوك ملحوظ وسلوك غير ملحوظ، الأساس في السلوك الملحوظ هو كل العمل والتصرف ومعطيات الحدث إما بسبب أو بشرط عمل أما السلوك غير ملحوظ هو كل العملية العقلية إما مبيرة لذلك أو أسباب ذلك.

القصيدة الجميلة التي فيها نصيحة رائعة للسماع وفيها حكمة مفيدة في تربية أخلاق المجتمع . في بعض التعاليم لتطوير الثقافة والتعليم وبناء شخصية الشعب. وزارة التعليم الوطني قد وضعت أكثر القيم (18 قيم) التي تطرّط وتعلّمها المتعلّمون .

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AREA STUDIES

URBAN ULAMA, SOCIAL HEALING, AND PEACE: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY STUDY ON MAMADE KADREEBUX'S FRIENDS OF FRIDAY COMMUNITY AND ACTIVISM AS MUSLIM MINORITIES POST 9/11 TURMOIL IN BAY AREA, CALIFORNIA, UNITED STATES

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Abstract: Until recently it seems substantial to redefine the idea of being *ulama* in wider perspective in that the social actor serves their functionalities as the *ulama* the social patron the communities might refer to. Using both Bryan S. Turner's agencies and Anthony Giddens' identity theory, two queries include: how do people creatively conduct a response through various agencies on ever changing situation of religious activism post 9/11 turmoil? And how do the social actors reconstruct the practices that they have learned in the past in order to achieve the mode of learning? Based on empirical interdisciplinary research on Friends of Friday in Bay Area, California, United States, the study shows that Kadreebux and the communities constitute meaningful activism through various agencies and learning initiating humanitarian projects such as water program for all, the social activism and peace

Keywords: Urban Ulama; Friends of Friday; Muslim minorities; peace

A. Introduction

It seems profound the need to accentuate the notion that every entity is not monolithic, including Muslims in the West. This has been even more apparent in the course of approach and study that it is likely inadequate for mono-discipline on studying Muslim minorities issues. As Cesari (2009, p. 149) suggests that only such an approach of interdisciplinary one, it will be capable of addressing and appreciating realities that Muslims face in the West.

The query of Muslim communities in its larger context in multicultural conditions lied on in one of the issues on how to posit the contribution of its entity, including *ulama*, to enhance the understanding and betterment of the society. The *ulama*, often misleadingly portrayed as guardians of tradition who play a diminishing role in modern societies and who endeavor to ignore or disqualify anything new, nonetheless play a vital, albeit changing, role in the societies in which they participate. Muhammad Qasim Zaman suggests that the

critical question is not whether the authority of *ulama* has increased or decreased, but how that authority is constructed, argued, put on display and constantly defended. Although Zaman (2002, p. 189 – 191) focused the study of *ulama* in Asian context, the essentiality of the idea is omnipresent. *Ulama* have continued to accommodate changes, both small and large, and, in this respect, the *ulama* in the 20th century or the 21st century are not very different from those of the earlier centuries. This flexibility means that the new and the old is reconfigured in often novel ways. It also means that, far from having been marginalized in the face of challenges to their authority—challenges from the modern nation-state or from Islamists activities and the new religious intellectuals, for instance—the *ulama* have often continued to be, or have become, active and important players in many contemporary societies.

This article deals with the wider role of how to define *ulama* in Western Muslim's urban context, its trajectory on social problems, and the notion of peace. It was rather initially difficult to define what precisely the urban community is. Moreover, the public claims of naming the city are only measured against the specific location with the typical traffic multitude of people, its urban nature and the population density. Aripudin (2012, p. 127-129) further argues that the meaning of city (Arabic: *madinah/badara/city*) would be more easily understood by the character and mental human society as actors rather than the meaning of a city location. More precisely, it is easier to view the city through characteristics as urban communities.

From the positionality of society and *ulama* side, the eve of communication technology and modern era seems increasingly accelerating change, not only on the material aspects, but overall characteristics of human life, family, education, employment, and even religious life. This is just one of the phenomena of shared symptoms that became a trend of global society. Then, the query deals with where the *ulama* position that is considered as the polymorphic leader of solving various problems. As the guardian of Islam, a spokesman for the aspirations and interests of the people and referral as well integrator that can unite the entire potential of the people, the *ulama* are required to welcome the challenges of the global world with openness – without losing critical attitude and calculation in providing solutions to the challenges. The *ulama*, thus, should be prepared with the challenges faced while offering tips and alternative ideas. As an agent of values of Islam socialization, the *ulama* should preach therapeutic, that is not merely spreading Islamic outlook but also guiding people to understand reality, actualize their potential, and ultimately develop their personality (Badruddin, 1995, p. 1-2).

About the understanding of *ulama*, there are two words of *ulama* stated in Al Quran, found in Surat Asy-Syu'araa: 197 and Surat Fatir: 28. " And has it not been a sign to them that it is recognized by the scholars (*ulama*) of the Children of Israel?" and "... Among people and moving creatures and grazing livestock are various colors similarly. Only those fear Allah, from among His servants, who have knowledge (*ulama*). Indeed, Allah is Exalted in Might and Forgiving". Those statements suggest that *ulama* are cautious faithful servants of God who

master_ *kauniyah* (the created signs) and *tanziliyah* (the transmitted knowledge), broad-minded life and worship with the foundation fear of Almighty Allah. Fear is the special nature of ulama. The *ulama*, at least, have a certain noble, and critical thinking, as well as actively encourage – people to do positive deeds, responsibility, and commitment. Badruddin (1995, p. 44) states that they are aware and sensitive to the situations of the time and able to answer every issue for the sake of Islam and the *ummah*.

Urban setting and its variable then seems significant to ponder. Structurally, according to Hans Dieter Evers, the city can be explained by three principal variables. The three variables comprise the social status, segregation of ethnicity, and culture of the city. Culture means the intellect, the mind, and how their behaviors, as well as the cultural meaning and the whole idea of human, work through learning to be familiar with the results of the work. More precisely, as E.B. Taylor said, in an anthropological view, that culture as a complex whole includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, customs, skills, and habits of the members of a society. The city is the center of the urban change. The availability of food and clothing needs also influence the style of urban communities in consumptive activities. Aripudin (2012, p. 127-129) argues that potential work has been crawling in the field of services that provide opportunities to open up employment opportunities.

Cultural characteristics of urban communities can be summarized as follows. *First*, in the quest for life, many urban communities use modern facilities. *Second*, the social system/social order is arranged so clear and every member of society has the appropriate status of his/her profession. It is, thus, ultimately clarify the role and function of each member of the community. *Third*, in the context of communication, generally urban wear national language influences on efforts to increase the values of equality in rights and status (egalitarian). *Fourth*, the system of public knowledge of the city is more pragmatic to work orientation. The pragmatism of urban communities can be seen in their religious attitudes. Religious rituals become more practical. For some, religious rites are considered disturbing the working time and rest or leisure time is becoming obsolete. Similarly, the orientation of the understanding and practice of religion has already changed. *Fifth*, the city is generally a very heterogeneous society. Heterogeneity of urban society can be seen in how they conduct economic, political affiliation, and religious attitudes. Pluralism of religious life for example, in terms of social relations between religious communities have become not only more limited relationship of *muamalat* (commercial transaction), but also already includes family relationships. The approach to urban communities is seen in the complexity of culture, particularly in countries or multicultural and multiethnic society. The challenge of multiculturalism is to accommodate national and ethnic differences in a morally defensible and stable condition (Aripudin, 2012, p. 127 – 129).

Among different levels of Muslim community activism, the study discusses the individual-community based initiative. This level of initiatives constructs the activism as a basis for an open community. The discussion

addresses question such as people create identities, or do they inadvertently express aspects of their society through their social selves? (Eriksen, 1993, p 65). The part of article then signified one of features of American Muslims that help explain how people acted in their larger outreach in the society. As Ahmad (2008, p.269) stated, a meaningful coexistence can be created through mutual engagement and respect. The following discussion exemplifies how people creatively conducted a response through various agencies on ever changing situation of religious activism post 9/11 turmoil, and how the social actors reconstructed the practices that they have learned in the past in order to achieve the mode of learning. The limitation is clear: it works on the representation of social community-based activism that might vary from one region and experience to another.

The paper discusses three aspectual agencies that accentuated the role of the urban ulama and socio-religious activism. The first part deals with the Friends of Friday, the social community Mamade Kadreebux initiated the social role. The discussion of the first agency on social community then led to the description of reconstructing identity that recalled the past experience of the Native American wisdom. The last part of the paper deals with interdisciplinary segment the cultural production of arts as the way the urban ulama accentuated the hope of peace. The three parts of the paper denoted the inter-discipline standpoints of the socio-religious, the local wisdom and the arts. The discussion signified the representation of agencies among Muslims minorities in the West.

B. Mamade Kadreebux's Friends of Friday

Instead of inventing but revitalizing the juncture of people, Mamade Kadreebux, an elderly of more than 60, shared his community-based experience that is built based on individual initiatives in the city of Berkeley, California. The gathering has been intended to openly welcome not only the homeless and the poor, but also people of the city including students since twenty-five years ago. Folding his individual self while transcending the values of virtues to people, Kadreebux continued elaborating ideas that besides the common conversation in the moment of gathering, the focus of the attention is on human needs and interactions. The topics of the gathering that is held every Friday evening vary from common issues, such as family, social issues, and national news, to arts activities, such as telling stories, reading, painting, and writing. Kadreebux believes that the arts are seen as a human interaction that becomes a vehicle of culture. The gathering mostly takes place in Kadreebux's apartment in Shattuck Street, downtown of the city of Berkeley.

The following discussion is then on how Kadreebux's availability, help, and ideas contributed to the understanding of the relationship between social activism and interfaith. I discuss the latter related to social activism since Kadreebux initiated the gathering regardless of the people's background and faiths. The instance is that the tactics of shifting arts into social vehicle, as Kadreebux argued, seemed vibrant even more in the aftermath of 9/11 America. Likewise, elaborating the significance of arts and Muslims, according

to Uzma Amin, is critical. Amin, one of the frequent students joining the gathering, accentuated this arts urgency in that the aftereffects of 9/11. However, the development of activism have inspired most Muslims of today with a different opinion of arts. The author continued to argue that most mainstream productions only seem to be able to portray Muslims as one-dimensional characters against the backdrop of terrorism. In this regard, post 9/11 America has seen an emergence of Muslims in careers of art and media (Amin, 2012, p. 16 – 17). The discussion of Kadreebux and his community could be further observed from activism as urban patron stimulating either the social healing from the keen attention of arts or the notion of peace from social-humanitarian initiatives.

The backlash from society and the misrepresentation in the media, in Amin's view, served to foster a generation of redefined Muslims as individuals seeking recognition and inequality, publicly affirming and displaying their religious affiliations, and attuning to political activism. This redefinition of Muslims nurtured a redefinition of Muslim art. Muslims art today, according to Amin, has the motivation to create understanding. New modes of Muslim art could be a tool for Muslims recognition, but an article released on August 24, 2012, by Washington Post reported on a poll that revealed 41% of Americans have unfavorable opinions of Muslims versus 40% who have favorable opinions. Muslims voices are though still not being heard and their image continued to be a stereotype. The arts could be a tool of bridging gaps and creating understanding between Muslims and the West to obliterate misconceptions and restore the identity and dignity of Muslims. As a matter of fact, change takes time. The only thing Muslims can do is to continue creating and promoting this newly defined Muslim art and have patience. It is interesting to note that Amin quoted Salma Arastu's 2001 *The Tragedy*, beautifully captured Muslims feelings post 9/11.

“One tragedy is not over yet another/ begins .. Wounds are fresh yet smoke has not disappeared/ Tears are welled/Lips are trembling/ I am shocked, Dumb/ I am humanity insecure uncertain in Chaos of twenty first century/ I am helpless/ Amazed at my rivals/ Among my own/ people.”(Amin, 2012, p. 16-17).

In urban setting of the city of Berkeley, likewise, what Kadreebux tried to accentuate in his works of arts has laid its foundation in communicating human beings though arts and actions. In other words, Kadreebux applied the activism, such as—according to Amin—a perfect vehicle of production. One of the actions besides arts was hosting an open space for people of believers and unbelievers to interact in a fresh open conversation in everyday life. People could share and interact based on their preference of arts in public sphere.

In the depiction of the community outreach and approach, Friends of Friday—Kadreebux likely named it—has served as an oasis to many people—professional, students, neighbors, and acquaintances. Their backgrounds of faiths included Christians, Muslims, Jews, Atheists and many other faiths. This diversity does not hinder the relationship to others regardless of their beliefs

and faiths. The gathering, the instance of play type of agency, as Bryan S. Turner (2011) stated, was built based on pleasant interaction of environment in a little modest, but convenient setting. The most important basis of the act denoted the notion of creativity type of agency is that the sound of solidarity and charity as Kadreebux insisted that “not everything is not free”.

On every Friday evening, Kadreebux has offered time completed with dinner offerings of refreshments of meals, fruits, cakes, and any other things to the Friends of Friday community that one could not only help themselves in a modest peaceful atmosphere of talks and sharing, but also denoted the notion in which religion is interpreted and defined as the reference for harmony and peace. This religious functionality as healing and treatment seems demanding in post 9/11 America. Kadreebux has played his role as the *ulama*. The functionalities initiated and acted seem apparent as social actors that transcended the role of *ulama* in Islamic worldview.

The first occasion coming to the Friends of Friday community was in the beginning of August at the end of summer 2012. Within hours after sunsets, a man who works as an artist finished a collection of the scattered piece of paper on a wooden desk about a half-meter wide with a round deep-edge cut in all ends. Tidying up as a fast blitz of movement, Kadreebux asked me when the time was and why it ran so fast.

“Welcome .. sir .. come on in ..” Kadreebux hosted me just like an old friend, reaching into his hat. He pulled out it to its place in the corner of the hall and started of being an artist of sharing. Since it was harder to meet the more convenient places like that, the gathering was more valuable; and by making it more intense the people could grasp togetherness even if several people already moved or continued their lives by the time.

The good occasion in such fashion, motivated by the spirit of *Juma*, as Kadreebux told me lately, the man recalled the awareness and strategies with which modern Americans could live their meaningful life of integration. Likewise, the *majlis* type of notion, as Kadreebux argued, is imbued in Islamic perspective in that everyone is free to express voices in community gathering. The well-being is society, in Kadreebux’s view, depends on the harmony of society with instances such as intervening other’s sadness or happiness, having a responsibility as a citizen in a difficult situation or solidarity. The sharing of solidarity to others, as Kadreebux went on to say, could be found in two remainders of the birth and the death. With a particular regard to different faiths as agency, the best posit, in Kadreebux’s contention, is on integration not separation. The integration of American people in general is needed post 9/11 America.

In Kadreebux’ view, some ways conducting the social chores are among others: giving convenient and good values to everybody, sharing inspiration for doing good, and having – opportunities to meet different communities. The next ways are also emphasized that it shows a peaceful interaction inscribed in the body of Holy Qur'an. Part of verses Kadreebux mentioned was *lakum diinukum waliyaddin*, meaning the mutual respect and discipline of faiths and

beliefs. Kadreebux' statement denoted the requirement of fair relations among interfaiths communities post 9/11 America.

Pertaining to the aim of the gathering and social outreach, Kadreebux continued to say that the main aim of the initiative is common understanding to peacefully interact with each other while committed to our tradition of religious belief. This play is nothing but aimed at serving please to God to do a good deed in the world. In this regard, in Kadreebux's view, everyone is brother and sister. It is in that intention that brought him into the idea of a multi-faith project called *Water to the Thirsty*. The project has been discussed in Friends of Friday gathering as an intended program to spread land of peace in Africa, and among many others concentration on drought issues and unsanitary sites in the world.

In the process of humanitarian project establishment, Kadreebux's effort touched two prominent sports men in the world—Anthony Erving, an Olympic gold swimming medalist, and Cameron Jones serving as all American water polo athletes—to participate in the project. Besides the support of the sports men, Kadreebux offered his works, for instance, the book entitled *Journey into Ancient Arabia*, as the source of donation. A portion of the sales and donations will be used to fund the project. The nuance of the project accentuated in this statement:

“We have arrived good brothers, We have arrived following the thirst of the sun, We have arrived to the wellspring, We have arrived to the ever-flowing spring of mercy, Not yours, not mine, but ours... ours is the journey” (Kadreebux, 2007).

In one of the Friday evenings of the next gathering, I was introduced to a young gentleman, Majid, who had been absent for a long time in the gathering. I was amazed by a little-bit-quiet man's story about having just finished a project of clean water in Brazil. Having discussed the water issue together with Dr. Isaac Joseph, a Jewish neighbor, who quite often joined the gathering, I understood the way Kadreebux planned the project of sanitary water for people, not only in Africa but also in the United States. After graduating from engineering department, Majid was more than happy to spend his time helping people on water consumption.

The energy of Kadreebux gathering held deeply the people attachment of good-will. The philosophy of the gathering was even more apparent when I met Peter Bruce DuMont at Friends of Friday gathering who said that “nothing in the whole world or even outside the world, can possibly be regarded as good without qualification, except a good will”. DuMont wrote in a piece of paper as a warm hospitality of greeting. DuMont continued to say that in other words, the only good that can be said to be 100% pure is the intention for good.

Having observed the people of Kadreebux, the study reveals what factors made the communities join together for such a long time. Based on notes obtained during observation that once aimed at gathering with Berkeley people, it was such an interesting labor to question on two aspects of time and the motif behind the gathering. Based on this involvement-based observation,

the gathering that has been held since more than twenty years was just impressive, but the social-cultural factors around downtown Berkeley seemed helpful explaining this.

When people walking down the main street of Berkeley, the homeless, the needy and even the mindless were not just a few to mention. During the time of observation, some were flocks nearby stores, such as Dollar Tree and AVS Pharmacy which are almost familiar with expression such as “.. changes .. got any .. changes .. I appreciate it .. anything will help”. From south to the north edge of the main street, being amazed at the same time for the disciplines of restaurants such as John’s Ice Cream parlor between Bike Station and Tea Fever, Pizza Papas John nearby Starbucks Coffee, while right in front of those rich delicacies, people were likely loitering around in the cold weather.

The seemingly paradoxical view of the modern city was very much seen not only from that depiction but also from the lifestyle the needy-street people had undergone. A man stayed in the end of the main street kept telling me that for some that was the lifestyle they wanted to enjoy. For some, it was probably true, but for other people on observation, the reasons are many.

Going north from the main street, the needy seemed also easily found from Angeline’s Louisiana Kitchen, nearby United Artist Theatres and Pintoh Thai Fresh Food, to Walgreens next’s parlor in Revival Bar and Kitchen. It was also found from Pollo Breakfast, Tikka Corner to Thai Noodle by the end of Hearst Avenue and many other dining stalls at Telegraph Avenue just to make sure they would get some worth-taking dimes or foods from people around. Some of those persons slept on the curve of store displays along with their dogs at night, crept themselves in a tight bold jackets to avoid chilliness and frozen-bites. While some people happened to find warm places inside the University of Berkeley main gate between wooden benches and concrete fences. Others were in People’s Park just to make sure the winds away and not yet awoke until 9 in the morning for a particular condition and reason. Alcoholism seemed an issue there, just as Mary Batel, the writer’s hallmate told once.

With the question in mind on how these people freely flocked around the city of Berkeley, though there has been a sign of not loitering, trespassing and begging in many areas of the city such as in Downtown Berkeley station in front of Chase Bank and Wells Fargo. The study triangulates it with what Kadreebux have done so far for community in the city. Until one day, a staff person of Green Uniform in front of Tibetan merchant kept by an India-born gentleman gave some important information. In his mid-age, the staff that worked for the service of Ambassador of the City of Berkeley in eight-hour-round per day told me what went on there. The triangulation deals with how the social actors correlated the activism to the social situation in which they inherited. Besides, the motif of social actor conducting activism could be studied with regard to the redefinition of the self-related to changing situation post 9/11 America.

The staff of the City of Berkeley explained, though there have been three different shelters for the needy. The reality was that there were many lived outside the shelters. They were looking for some money from people rushing the business of everyday life. Based on the information of Alameda County flyer, needy people are basically welcome in three family shelters and one of them situated in nearby downtown from Boss Emergency Shelter to Family Wing. The Shelter costs 30% of income with a must call for preliminary interview at 711 Harrison (at 4th St.). Two more men and women's shelter in separated location could be found in Center and Dwight Way downtown Berkeley. In addition, many Church's denominations have offered youth shelters and drop-in centers that covered morning meals, mid-day meals, and late afternoon or evening meals.

Dealing with people of needy, one can easily recognize them from the fashion and attitudes even when they were in a crowd. They were walking with the huge bags hanged onto their bodies sometimes accompanied with discarded trolleys. Their ages varied from teenagers to the elderly but mostly were from the latter. While African-Americans were easily found, the rest of people were Hispanics, Asian looks, and Americans. The depiction here is apparent for explaining some factors why Kadreebux and many others initiated and offered free foods and refreshment during the gatherings. The observation did not personally ask what factors made him create the gathering, since it could be implied from his books and common conversations.

As an American Muslim, Kadreebux paid no prejudice to any faiths in the aftermath of 9/11. Instead of looking outside the individual self, the significant point of the strategy, in Kadreebux's view, is that starting it from the phrase such as "who I am". For social healing, brotherhood is, for him, a key regardless of their wealth and power. In the midst of different opinions post 9/11 America, Kadreebux kept on saying that the next most important aspect is that "I am not going wild". The man tries to say more on what they have and are in common in order to relieve problems and obstacles. The contribution, also indicates the answer on how American Muslims should behave, signifies the aspect of inclusion of helping to hear. The social healing means, in Kadreebux's view, there is no judgment to others within the heart of the people that subsequently be followed by the principles of reciprocity. Kadreebux further believes that this idea led to aspects of brotherhood, solidarity, knowledge and friendship.

Pertaining to the need of commonality amid the diversity, the envisioning step found in Friends of Friday gathering seemed quite helpful accentuating the process. Armando Salvatore stated that the concept of public sphere envisions a site of discussion and deliberation among moral subjects, transcending their private interests through the dynamics of defining what is common good of society as a whole (Salvatore, 2009). As seen in the project of *Water to the Thirsty* initiated by Kadreebux, the initiatives coming from the gathering accentuated people's aspiration, cooperation, as well as vision of the notion to act in post 9/11 context of America. In addition, in Nagler's view

(2001), the world needs more human-centered and humanizing worldview since there would still be problems like water rights and social advantages; but they would be just that—problems to solve, not people to fear and hate (McConnell, 2003, p.15).

Pertaining to the need of public sphere, Salvatore stated that the articulation of the public sphere is not confined to representative political systems; it is also formed in those social contexts that lack truly representative institutions. In this regard, the gathering of Friends of Friday seemed profound explaining the notion of the public sphere, as the specific site of a type of action that facilitated understanding among actors beyond structure of authority of particularistic interests. It is the rise of public sphere expressing the quintessential capacity to valorize ordinary, common life. In concise word, people of Kadreebux described the arena where ideas of society and the social bond of justice and solidarity are discussed with the goal of reforming society (Salvatore, 2009, 187-188).

What needs to be emphasized is that Kadreebux initiatives share what Adam Hodges argued on the notion of social-cultural agency. This explanation level of analysis is built based on the foundation of the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act. When agents act, they accomplish a variety of social goals (Hodges, 2011). In this type of social activity, Kadreebux directly participated in what a social community exactly wants to define. The mediation that naturally took place is impressive. In the midst of selfish-individualism, the acts of joining people together regardless of their religion and faiths are significant. This model inspires the realm in which people may adapt and transform it in their own settings and backgrounds based on everyday life.

In addition, the initiative of Kadreebux' gathering is uniquely individual but largely involved diverse entities, including the community of faiths. The gathering has included many from different faiths, beliefs and even the atheists. From social problem side, one of retrospective issues is on how people crying for jobs and opportunities, especially for African-Americans and many other immigrants. Some Americans have been haunted with poverty and misfortune, while at the same time, the energy and money are for something else uncertain. Those critical statements of social and political disparity seem relevant situating the American scene and problems post 9/11. The reality mentioned above has ironically been the everyday life of the city in such a superpower country like the United States or the claim as such. It seems understandable that the ever present American current issues are of massive job programs for people. The additional issues include the existing class disparity, social gap, economic deprivation, cultural dementia and racial pathology. Those issues have been inherent parts of topics frequently discussed in Kadreebux's Friends of Friday.

C. The Past Reconstruction: Learning the Wisdom of the Native American of Iroquois

Based on various challenges and problems faced by Kadreebux's society, this article discusses a phase of past reconstruction. The past reconstruction

deals with the notion of peace. In some gatherings of the Friends of Friday, Kadreebux told stories from different countries and perspectives. In one of his stories on American history, Kadreebux kept telling the secret of Native American people of Iroquois. On his rich accentuation of English, the study discovered how Kadreebux honored people and preserved the ways of the indigenous wisdom. In Kadreebux's view, it was a type of wisdom that never ended. The sound of reconstruction in the space in between world seems vibrant in what Trinh Min Ha called it, the journey of the home of peace in the world of between the East and the West (Min-Ha, 2012).

In one of the evenings, Kadreebux showed how the Iroquois people prepared their wisdom for the coming generation. Kadreebux sat in his round rattan bench, while Judy and Anna, two women who joined the gatherings, prepared refreshments for the guests. In short, the moment offered hospitality, solidarity, caring, and unity. This sense of solidarity and gathering, likewise also be found but in what Gertrude Stein thought on the observation on the making of American mind (Hobhouse, 1975). Furthermore, Janet Hobhouse depicted Stein's idea as follows:

“I was much impressed because I gradually found out what was what in the making of Americans I called the bottom nature of each and every one of them and I was very much interested in the way they had their nature in them and sitting there while their arm was in the planchette and hardly vaguely talking it was interesting to me to see how I came to feel that I could come sometime to describe every kind there is of men and women and the bottom nature of them and the way it was mixed up with the other natures in them, I kept note of each one of them and watched the difference between being active and being tired, the way it made some go faster and some go slower and I finally felt and which in the making of Americans I began to do that one could make diagrams and describe every individual man and woman who ever was or is or will be living (Hobhouse, 1975, p. 50 - 51).”

The quote seems interesting in that it denotes inter-textuality of what men and women meant in life. Albeit “the same but different” mode of time, but the space Stein and Kadreebux accentuated and shared was becoming apparent.

Taking a flashback to Iroquois' Native American values, Kadreebux emphasized the precious ideas in that the peaceful co-existence is provided by the tribe as a motivation agency. It was a time when the idea of the people maintaining on how life was. This inspiration led to the idea of everybody coming together in the pursuit of values of community. This, according to Kadreebux, was related to the core of this Native Wisdom lying on the willingness to share values, emphasizing generosity, and availability to give contribution on problem-solving in community. Those tight social attributions then, in Kadreebux's view, underlined the very notion of *Guaiene Haqqel*, a guide of peace. In this part, it seems that the actor of social agent that we have queried in this chapter seems vibrant in recalling back the memories of wisdom

from the old times local genius. This is impressive since, in Western context, the tendency of wisdom is usually taken from the Western production of prudent ideas. Here, the study will not say that the Western conception on wisdom is shatter but it is interesting to note the ideational shift from the modern people mind such as shown in Kadreebux's accentuation of wisdom in post 9/11 America.

Pertaining to Kadreebux' thought and its functionality, this social recalling of the Native wisdom will serve not only motivational motif but also share the improvisation agency of the historical legacy. This, as Emile Durkheim argued, lied in interrelated phenomena: a set of metaphysical speculations on the nature and order of things on the one hand, and rules of conduct and moral discipline on the other. Moreover, as Durkheim further stated, through providing ideals to be striven for, religion is a force making for social unity. In Durkheim's view, both aspects of moral rules of positive attraction and the attraction to an ideal or set of ideals are essential to their functioning (Giddens, 1978, p. 70). This type of Durkheimian religion in its functionality constitutes the transformation of belief upon superior power unto social postulate.

The next part is further study in more details on the Native wisdom of Iroquois people that denoted the past reconstruction of Kadreebux's activism. This explanation level could be traced when we turn the pages on Native American literature in that the appreciation of peace is so strong. Elaborating the history the Native American, J.F. Page is indebted much too some Iroquois values. The author mentions the unity of six Iroquois, known as Mohawks, Onondagos, Senecas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Tuscaroras. The six Iroquois tribes, neighbors of the early Americans, occupied the Mohawk Valley, between the Hudson River and Lake Erie. Though, perhaps never numbering over fifteen to eighteen thousand, the influence of this confederacy among Red men was such that its orders were obeyed from Lake Ontario to Chesapeake Bay and from the Delaware River to beyond the Ohio. This federation of Iroquois tribes was founded upon high ideals of peace and brotherhood, and was designed to embrace ultimately all of humanity. In these respects it may be regarded as a prototype of the League of Nations and of the United Nations. The League was organized before the arrival of English people to shores, theoretically about the middle of the sixteenth century. It was then composed of five independent peoples of Iroquois stock; the sixth tribe, or Tuscaroras, joined the Confederacy in 1716. These tribes were cemented into a union with the sanctions of law, custom, and religion. The League was given an Indian name meaning the Great Peace, a sacred term to the Iroquois. The council of fifty peace chiefs who administered it was priests. It met once a year at Onondgo, the League capital, and at such other times as emergency might demand to promote internal peace, or conduct foreign relations. The story of two foundling heroes of the Confederacy, Deganawida, the man of legal mind, and Hiawatha the peace-loving hero, practically constituted the Iroquois Bible. These Indians believed in a Great Spirit

who cared for his people and who desired that they care for each other. They treasured his precepts in a way that would put most people to shame. With peace among themselves and security from their enemies, and with their confederacy built around the great ideal of human brotherhood, the Iroquois, if left unhampered by the whites, would likely have built a commendable civilization (Page, 2012, p. 415-418).

Likewise, the social tightness and fairness, as Wilcom E. Washburn argues, becomes central in Iroquois' values of life. The author further asserts that the Iroquois' system was geared to cooperation on behalf of larger social units, not to individual competition. Council Elders, in Washburn's view (1975, p. 31-32), serve as the highest governing body of the League and as keepers of the long house which symbolically represented the organizational structure of the League, dominated the domestic scene, seeing to it that the tasks were appropriately allotted, and that the common stores were equitably distributed. This tightness as a union, as Jeffrey B. Abramson argued, constitutes the need of self-understanding of the virtues of fellow-feeling and friendship, of citizenship and allegiance to a common good (Abramson, 1984, p.138).

The socio-political and cultural wisdom of the Native American share Kadreebux' learning of the past. Ironically partly claimed by the immigrants, the land of America actually belongs to the indigenous Indian people. While this irony is a civilization fact in history, the legacy of wisdom is not vanished. Kenneth Neill Cameron further argued that Iroquois people lived in the area from the Atlantic coast inland to the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes and the Mississippi system, now the eastern United States including the south. They were in the area doing various semi-food-gathering and semi-farming whose general pattern of life was from hunting, fishing, raising crops to food gathering. About the year 1500, an Iroquois leader, Hiawatha, united the original five tribes of Iroquois in a confederation which at the time of European invasion was making steady progress into Algonquin territory (Cameron, 1977, p. 370). The valuable idea of *Guaiene Haqqel*, as Kadreebux stated as a guide of peace, takes its vibrant account in functionality.

The way Kadreebux mentioned the wisdom of the Iroquois served as the expression of the self in opts of social forms. In this regard, as Anthony Giddens argued, individual identities are constantly reshaped and the actors reproduced the practices they have learned in the past (Cohen, 2006). Furthermore, the activism Kadreebux carried out was the sound elucidation of what Giddens argued on multilayered democratic participation, humanization of technology, demilitarization that includes individual narratives for themselves, lives, and the future (Giddens, 1990). Those peace ideas taken from Kadreebux's learning from Iroquois served as the way American Muslims integrated the past wisdom with modern issues. The need of such integration among Americans are needed particularly post 9/11 America.

D. Religion, Peace and Hope as Seen in Mamade Kadreebux's *Destiny*

Besides the empirical socio-cultural agency, Kadreebux wrote the relation of society that bears the religious contexts, peace, and hope in the form of a novel. It deals with how Kadreebux expressed love to his country and hope for peace. In Kadreebux's *Destiny*, a book of man's journey, the sound of inspiration is profound. The writing includes the relation of the way American Muslims redefine their identity as a part of their journey becoming a good and responsible Western Muslims. According to Richard Jenkins, this elucidated the self identity to see the past as no more than a lengthy prologue to the present and part of them is peace movement (Jenkins, 2008). The life itself, in Kadreebux' view, is a journey.

"Now I stand in front of the river of time as it flows from a source, unknown, toward its endless eternity. The night is deep and starry. The Milky Way appears, as white veil upon the face of the infinite. There is an immense peace in the sky. There is peace and quiet in the garden. All the little birds have gone to rest in the branches. They will learn that I had slept on the breast of the desert, walked to the glaciers, travelled to the empire of wind and snow. They will find traces of civilizations long gone, and the hand prints left by the departed. They will understand that life on earth is a journey" (Kadreebux, 2012, p. 120 -121).

Based on the excerpt, the study was impressed with the journey alone meaning it leaves every entities positioning. Since the life is not so long, people must retrospect. One of the aspects of retrospection is through endurance toward hostility and obstacles. Fear and relentlessness of war are part of the hindrances and realities in the middle of the journey. Pertaining to everyday life's American Muslims setting in the aftermath of 9/11 uproar, the timeless patience and sober are indeed necessary in fixing the identity.

"The month of silence had returned a voice into my heart. It was the voice of a bird that had known winter in the wilderness and felt the longing for spring. Beyond the veil of the night, light was gleaming. What had raged in my breast was the revolt against the war of aggression, the useless spilling of innocent blood, the spreading of misery on earth. Fear had entered the heart of humanity instead of the passion for justice and thirst for knowledge"(Kadreebux, 2012, p. 95).

Giving the meaning on how Kadreebux sees himself as also the way people ought to project their lives and as the contribution to the sense of social activism in particular and the neighborhood and citizenry in general, Kadreebux believed in a peaceful co-existence and peace that accentuated in equilibrium, harmony, and hope.

"Days of solitude dragged by. I was regaining a sense of inner equilibrium. I was what my soul had desired. There was a gentle stillness in nature. The world was asleep and dreaming. Now, it was beginning to rise again, from the horizon of darkness. The mirror of my timid soul, was revealing to me, the hidden harmony, in all thins,

formed in the womb of time, even though I felt continuously adrift in the all-powerful universe, guided by forces seen and unseen. I was struggling to find port of peace. My 'Dar es Salaam' and ultimately my own voice. My spirit began to burn with hope" (Kadreebux, 2012, p. 94 – 95).

The obstacles, however, are massive, but the convergence of faith values, social activism and awareness will overcome those barriers. Kadreebux's mind and efforts denoted the notion that religion shared its vast interpretation; it shares its functionality as vehicles to social activism, social healing, and peace.

E. Conclusion

To conclude the article, it is safe to say that in the context of Muslims in the West within the peculiarities of a multiethnic society and culture, the idea of the definition and role of the *ulama* in Islamic perspective, can be seen in-depth observation of the figures of Muslim immigrants in America, Mamade Kadreebux. Kadreebux serves as the *ulama* that touched the socio-cultural activities, economics, and culture in urban setting. The Initiation of Friends of Friday, for instance, shows the capacity of a figure of *ulama*, who is not only fluent referred to the values of Islam in Scripture Koran and other religious sources, but also able to irradiate people with visions of social and practical capacity to act at the same time, as exposed in the program of *Water to the Thirsty*.

Within his functionality as an urban *ulama*, Kadreebux applied a flowing method that can collect various elements in society. The discussions, art activities, and inspiration from the stories and experiences of the past in the Friends of Friday seem quite adequate as power of social healing in the midst of the problems of poverty, homelessness, and unemployment. Reconstruction of the past to the Native American community, found in elaboration of Iroquois Indians, for example, is used as an approximation of space and time, in which the experiences and ideas of peace and harmony can be excavated and studied for the next generation. In particular, the experience of the local society has been keenly related with Islamic values such as equality, solidarity, peace, consensus, and tolerance.

Kadreebux empirical action in the socio-cultural sphere further emphasized on his work about the human journey that requires emphases on consciousness as a pilgrim life. Kadreebux simply provides inspiration and a role model, especially in the midst of modern urban society, about the need for social relations, as well as accentuation of religious and social practice activities. To sum up, the notion of peace that became apparent based on the notion of awareness to do and share to others regardless of the individual's background and religion is a valuable asset for the foundation of Muslim community optimism in particular and the multicultural society in general .

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ISLAMIC SHARI'A LAWS IN ACEH (REALITY AND PUBLIC PERCEPTION TOWARD THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ISLAMIC SHARI'A LAW IN THE CAPITAL CITY OF ACEH, BANDA ACEH)

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Abstract: *The present research is conducted in order to describe and analyze the contemporary perspectives on Islamic shari'a laws in Banda Aceh. Special attention is paid to the reality of the implementation of the Islamic laws and the perception and valuation towards the implementation of Islamic laws in the capital city of Aceh. The field research has been conducted by means of participant observation as the principle method of this empirical study. Besides a meticulous observation, in-depth discussions with informants who are competent and engaged directly on the problems have also been done. The result of the research shows that the reality of the implementation of shari'a law has tended towards on the physical things; it is based on matters relating to women's clothing, seclusion, and writing Arabic names for the government institutions and so forth, while the substance of the application of shari'a has not yet appeared fully. The implementation of shari'a in Banda Aceh is still more on a symbolic discourse, while the goals and objectives of shari'a have not yet been fully real in the life of the people in the capital city of Aceh. Not all the application of shari'a law in Banda Aceh has been fully run in accordance with the rules and procedures as well the objectives of the shari'a laws itself. Meanwhile, what already exist today can be said in general still somehow in the 'skin level' only. However, many informants admitted that the implementation of Islamic shari'a laws in Banda Aceh is relatively successful and even successful enough compared to the years before Islamic shari'a laws were fully legalized and implemented.*

Keywords: Islam, shari'a, perception, implementation of Islamic shari'a law

Introduction

The implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws is not such an odd issue for the Acehnese people because the basic *shari'a* concept and its implementation have been applied since the kingdom of Aceh Darussalam led by Sultan Iskandar Muda (Hasymi, 1995: 25; Hadi, 2000: 34). Currently, such historical and sociological realities have been a basic foundation towards the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in this province.

Aceh is the only province in Indonesia that is authorized by the central government to implement the Islamic *shari'a* laws on the whole. The authority to implement Islamic *shari'a* laws is based on a series of laws. Now, it is regulated through law no. 44 of 1999 about the Aceh privilege (in the era of President Habibie). One of the Aceh privileges granted by the central government is to organize a religious life in the form of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws. To realize it, several legislations especially about the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws is legalized, such as law no. 44 of 1999 on the implementation of the Aceh privilege, law no. 18 of 2001 on the exclusive autonomy (in the era of President Megawati) for the Aceh province and reinforced by law No. 11 of 2006 concerning on the Aceh government legislation known as UUPA which has been the foundation for the Acehnese people and has granted a full authority for the Aceh government in running the Islamic *shari'a* laws comprehensively in the Acehnese people's life.¹¹¹ Through these three legislations, it is expected that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws will be realized comprehensively, for without the legislations, the implementation of the Islamic *shari'a* laws could probably be conducted in the dimensions of *aqida* and *mahdah* worship only, meanwhile the public aspect cannot be executed at all. It is as the proof of the existence of a privilege for the Acehnese people to the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws comprehensively, so that the realization of the rule of laws in carrying out the right privileges and the implementation of Islamic laws by establishing the local regulation called *qanun* as a basic realization of social life can be realized.¹¹²

Unwittingly, the implementation and the practice of Islamic *shari'a* laws in the Aceh province have been running for more than fifteen years. At this time, several institutions and some *qanun* as a vehicle in implementing *shari'a* laws have been raised successfully. The institutions which are meant such as, *shari'a* courts, *shari'a* police called Wilayatul Hisbah (A task force for implementing *qanun*), and the assembly of scholars as well as a number *qanun* as the rules that became the foundation in the practice of *shari'a* laws in Aceh. Any

¹¹¹ In the era of President Habibie, *shari'a* law was allowed to be implemented to govern social life in Aceh, but *shari'a* courts were not allowed. This changed in August 2001 when President Megawati gave Aceh a special autonomy status (UU no.18/2001) with the authority to establish *shari'a* courts and with the *shari'a* courts punishment. The *shari'a* courts (*Mahkamah Syar'iyyah*) in Aceh are on a district/municipal level with in the (provincial) Aceh *syari'a* court acting as a Court of Appeals. *Shari'a* law in Aceh therefore gained formal recognition and was introduced by the central government during the conflict period. This has led some people still to feel *syari'a* law is a tool of the central government to keep the Acehnese people from exercising their full legal rights. However, as far as the local interpretation of *shari'a* in Indonesia concerned, Aceh has been the only region that has applied *shari'a* rigorously. Law 11/2006 on the Governance of Aceh, passed in July 2006 by the legislature, has filled gaps and eliminated ambiguities in the previous regulations in relation to the application of *shari'a* in Aceh (See Beer (2012 and Salim, 2008).

¹¹² UU no.11/2006 explicitly reinforced that Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh is not only in the dimensions of *aqidah*, *shari'a* and *akhlak* but also includes *ibadah* (worship), *al-abwal al-syakhsiyah* (family law), *mu'amalah* (civil law), *jinayah* (criminal law), *qada* (justice), *tarbiyyah* (education), *da'wah* (preaching), *si'ar*, and defense of Islam. In other words, its rule encompasses all aspects of life; individual, society as well as dealing with the state. See also Abubakar (2013).

Muslim who lives in Aceh and violates a provision of the rules of *shari'a* that have been, respectively are to be implemented will be liable for punishing.¹¹³

Practicing Islamic *shari'a* laws does not depend on anyone and any situation, but it becomes a fundamental obligation for each Muslim as the part of the religion. Every Muslims is responsible for implementing the Islamic *shari'a* laws comprehensively and perfectly in many aspects of his life, thus, the awareness of justice of the Muslim community should be based on the Islamic *shari'a* laws. Especially for the Acehnese people, the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws is the aspiration from the whole of the Acehnese people. Many local Islamic scholars argue that there is no reason to delay the practice of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh province, even more the struggle of the Acehnese people against the central government since the beginning of the republic's independence is purposed to enforce the Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh region which is well known as Mecca porch. Today, the Acehnese people have obtained the rights through the enforcement of exclusive autonomy in Aceh.

Currently, the absence of legal laws become the problems of enforcement of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh, thus, the *qanun jinayat* which was meant to strengthen the implementation of *shari'a* law in Aceh have to be legalized immediately. Another phenomenon will occur if an Islamic *shari'a* law is intended to implement extremely in society, its implementation is worried to lead to new conflicts or things which are not expected.¹¹⁴ Therefore, the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in a particular area should be adjusted to the level of understanding of a particular society and it should be implemented gradually in all aspects of life, since it is not easy to find an applicable formation of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws even though some of Islamic teachings have been practiced in everyday life. Moreover, the local '*ulama'* say that if the government as the authorities is not serious in running the Islamic *shari'a* laws through religious bureaucracy (*Dinas Syariat Islam* or the provincial office of Islamic *shari'a*), it is impossible for the society to start it.

The polemic between the political aspiration of proponents and opponents of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh will be

¹¹³ In implementing Islamic *shari'a* laws, the religious bureaucracy (*Dinas Syariat Islam* or the provincial office of Islamic *shari'a*) has played a more important role than the '*ulama'* council (MPU). The provincial religious bureaucracy has been engaged in numerous tasks: planning future activities, recruiting members of *shari'a* law enforcement authority (*wilayatul hisbah*), preparing manual, disseminating information and guidelines, coordinating the meetings of all relevant provincial institution, and supervising the application of *shari'a* in Aceh. The '*ulama'* focus mostly on the contents of *shari'a*, while the religious bureaucracy has to deal with both the content of the *shari'a* and the procedural matters necessary for its application.

¹¹⁴ In September 2009, the Governor Irwandi Yusuf refused to sign the *qanun jinayat* into law and the text ceased to have any legal value. But the mere fact that DPRA had voted in favor of a law containing death by stoning created an international discussion that severely damaged Aceh reputation. (It is quite likely that, even if the Governor had signed the text of the draft *qanun jinayat*, the Constitutional Court of the Ministry of Home Affairs in Jakarta would have refused to approve the law as the Indonesian legal system, a provincial government has no right to introduce the death penalty) (See Isa, 2013: 226).

observed carefully. In addition, the conflicts and tensions in the motivation behind the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws will be carefully observed as well. A contra point of view on the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws, especially, can be identified from the phenomena that arise in society and also from some information exposed in the media or revealed in various meetings such as seminars, workshops, and so forth. The view of the disagreements of the implementation of flogging is because it is not an educated punishment and it violates human rights. Sometimes the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws has been highly discriminated and it does not pay attention much to the women. The role and place of women in the present day legal systems is minimal.¹¹⁵ While there are women members of Wilayatul Hisbah, generally the decision making levels of religious bureaucracy (*Dinas Syariat Islam*) and *shari'a* courts are all male-dominated.¹¹⁶ Wilayatul Hisbah has been sometimes performing its duties improperly and in some cases doing its duties beyond the limits such as conducting the arrestment, investigation, and so forth, as well as various other views of disagreement of formalization of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh.

The implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws on the first five years (from 2002-2007) since it was declared had run well but from 2008-till now, the reverberation (*gaung/gema*) of its implementation decreased (Isa, 2013: 500). Nowadays, the most of the current reality in society as admitted many informants is no longer in accordance with the "customs and culture of the Islamic *shari'a* laws". This fact can be seen from the behavior of social interaction of the people in everyday life, so, it had unconsciously changed and shifted the cultural values and the customs of the Acéhnese. However, many other informants admitted that the implantation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Banda Aceh is relatively successful and even successful enough.¹¹⁷

Several local scholars have conducted studies about the implementation of *sharia* laws (e.g. Isa (2013), Ikhwan (2013), Abubakar (2013; 2006; 2005), Nurdin (2011), Salim (2008), Ismail dkk (2007), Rizal dkk (2007), and

¹¹⁵ A basic weakness in the National Police is that fewer than 3% of all members of the police are women. That is a national statistic and is unfortunately true for the Aceh as well. This clearly places a limit on the police's interaction with public generally-especially when the police instituted Community Policing as a major policy in Aceh. It is also limits the police's ability to act, particularly in cases involving violence (sexual or otherwise) against women. The role women play in *adat* structures in Aceh varies from district to district. In along the Eastern and Northern coastal areas it is highly unusual to find women members of *tuba pent*. In Western areas it is more common that that there is a woman member of *tuba pent*, however, the presence of a woman member is no guarantee that she will take an active part in the discussion or that her opinions and insights are well listened to by the majority male members, see Beer (2012).

¹¹⁶ In spite of most Western bias against *shari'a* laws and *shari'a* courts, there is a system of protection of the position of women in case of divorce provided by the *shari'a* courts and in allocating the care of the orphans (Beer, 2012).

¹¹⁷ This is not a unique phenomenon; a similar case can be found elsewhere in the Muslim world. There are two comparable examples (Nigeria and Malaysia) that demonstrate how both the status of autonomy and situation of political transition are contributing factors to the local application of *shari'a*, its penal rules in particular (see Salim, 2008).

Zulkarnaini (2001)). No specific attention, however, has been paid fully to the modalities of *sharia* laws in the capital city of Aceh Province and no up to date studies exist about the current problems involved in its implementation. Foreign researchers have conducted studies on the Acehnese *sharia* laws too (e.g. Feener (2013), Aspinall (2007), Morries (1983)); so have some international organizations (such as the International Crisis Group (2006) and UNDP (2006)). Their attention was mostly focused on the historical and political dynamics leading to the adoption of *sharia* laws in Aceh as part of the Central Government's endeavor to bring the Aceh Province under its control and suppress the local support for the Free Aceh Movement.

Research Focus

This research deeply focuses on the perception and valuation by the people of Autonomous Province of Aceh of the Islamic *shari'a* laws that have been, respectively are to be implemented there. This research deeply explores the perception and valuation of the Acehnese in the capital city of Aceh, Banda Aceh about the current formalization of the Islamic *shari'a* laws. The capital city is chosen due to the complexity and homogeneity of the population. Because the scope of Islamic *shari'a* is very large, including, *ibadah* (worship), *munakahah* (family Law), *muamalah* (civil law) and *jinayah* (criminal law), so this research is focused only on the formalization of Islamic *shari'a* and the ways to hold the Islamic laws in order to know the strengths and the weaknesses of its implementation from the public perception in general.

Research Method

The research was conducted by means of participant observation as the principle research method. It entails a meticulous observation of the implementation of the Islamic *sharia* laws including the occurrence of 'mob justice'¹¹⁸, the political aspirations of proponents and opponents of the implementation of *shari'a* laws, and modes of conduct deviating from the *shari'a* rules. The researcher has conducted interview and in-depth discussions with religious leaders, community leaders, *adat* leaders, community members, and so on relating to the formalization and implementation of *shari'a* laws. All interviews were conducted in the Acehnese (the applicant's mother tongue), Indonesian, and other regional languages such as Minangkabau and Gayo. In the latter case the assistance of local interpreters had been solicited. In addition, a systematic survey of relevant published sources has been made. The data collected by during the field and library researches were subjected to a qualitative analysis, involving the stages of data deduction, data display, conclusion and verification as standardized by Miles and Huberman (1994).

¹¹⁸ This happens when people feel that their own personal interpretation of the laws (*sharia* law, *adat* law, and national state law) is not being strictly implemented and they decide to take the law into their own hands and impose their own – illegal - norm of justice.

The Reality of the Implementation of Islamic *Shari'a* Laws

Imperceptibly, the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* law in Aceh has been applied for more than fifteen years. Its implementation has tended towards more on the physical things, it is more on matters relating to women's clothing, seclusion, and writing an Arabic names for the government institutions both public and private sector, while the substance of the application of *shari'a* has not yet fully appeared. It is said, "What already exists today can be said still in the 'skin level' only. The implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh should be able to realize the expectations, but it is still far from the wishes and demands of *shari'a* itself said one informant. Another informant said, "The implementation of *shari'a* law in Aceh is still a symbolic discourse, while the goals and objectives of *shari'a* have not yet been fully real in the life of the Acehnese".

The number of wrong doers in Aceh is currently very disturbing, particularly in Banda Aceh as the capital of Aceh province that should provide an example for other regions. But the reality of the matter is that the public awareness to comply with Islamic *shari'a* law seems still quite low. Ironically, a number of people not only do not want to obey but also make an opposition to the implementation of the *shari'a* law. In fact, they, as observed, often fight openly about Islamic *shari'a* implementation in Banda Aceh.

The application of Islamic *shari'a* has caused a polemic among some communities in Aceh. Pro and contra towards the implementation of *shari'a* in Aceh result some descriptions. Firstly, attention was greater than the number of local communities, nationally and internationally. Attention is given not only to the formulation of the rules of law in a number of *qanun*, but also in law enforcement process of *shari'a* law. Secondly, the expectation of a number of people towards the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh can be a model of *shari'a* law in Indonesia since many countries appeared to have failed in implementing the *shari'a* laws that is controlled by the provisions of the State. Thirdly, the pro and contra about the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh can be seen as an effort to maintain and sensitize the authorities to be truly realizing the overall Islamic *shari'a* as a whole, and the application of *shari'a* law without favoritism through humanism and sociological approaches. This context as said by an *imam* can be understood that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* as well as the islamization of life because the Islamic *shari'a* covers all facets of life in the hopes of all the Acehnese by setting a systematic and simultaneous work and it is required to be able to demonstrate and apply it in everyday day life, especially in the aspects of the association about how to dress, it means that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* which covers all facets of life in spite of priority to measure is still needed.

Some informants complain that the reality in the life of the Acehnese lately is no longer according to the teachings of Islam or *shari'a*. This is an evident from the social behavior of the people in everyday situations. Various form of *shari'a* violations in Aceh are recently published in media. Although the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* has reached the age of more than fifteen

years, violations continue to occur in the capital city of Aceh, such as prostitution, gambling, murder, rape, sex and relationship which is far from the Islamic rules. Another thing that is very ironic thing today is the practice of prostitution in hotels, cafes which totally do not fit to the *shari'a* rules. One informant said, "Salons and cafes are no longer suitable with the rules of Islamic *shari'a* laws, they should be closed soon".

The actual implementation of Islamic *shari'a* is expected to treat social unrest and can cure social ills. Therefore, the application needs to consider the socio-cultural religiosity of the Acehnese (also young generation) today. The first thing that comes to mind, namely: Islamic *shari'a* principles have not yet accommodated the kindness of the people, it is not digesting cultural and social relations which are certainly in the biological community in the *shari'a*, it has not touched the real-world education complained one informant. The latter was a serious problem that is considered 'dumb' because the number of Acehnese just got the impression that the Islamic *shari'a* law in Aceh is only *uqubat* (punishment). This is caused by the lack of knowledge and understanding about Islamic *shari'a* laws. One informant said as the following:

The reality is that a lot of people do not comply with the *shari'a* in their life although the regulation states that the obligation to obey, practice and adhere to *shari'a* as a whole in everyday life. Every Muslim is obliged to postpone and suspend his/her activities at certain times to perform the prayer but the reality is that many Acehnese in Banda Aceh do not heed the rules. The duty of every Muslim to dress in accordance with the provisions of the teachings of Islam, both in family life, as well as in the association community, but what happens in society today is that many women are wearing clothes that do not comply with the rules *shari'a* even a small number of communities who do not wear Islamic clothes (do not wear a headscarf for Muslim women).

Besides as the religious obligation, the expectations and the purposes of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Acèh are to create a perfect Muslims, to be a better person, and to be closer to Allah and also to make Islamic *shari'a* laws as a guide that can fulfill a present and future needs of the community that are in transition towards a modernization with the complicated and complex demands and needs of the times (Syahrizal, 2007: 9; Syamsul Rijal, 2007: 90). Lately, there are various forms of offense of Islamic *shari'a* laws by the Acèhnese people published by mass media. Among the most common problems are the immoral behavior as immoral act (seclusion or adultery), disguised prostitution, sexual harassment, rape, and violence against children and women, drug abuse, alcohol, female attire and methamphetamine that aggressively circulate in Acèh, as well as gambling with various models and shapes.¹¹⁹ These kinds of behavior of society are contrary with the rule of

¹¹⁹ By the end of 2004, no criminal case had been brought to the *shari'a* court (*Mahkamah Syar'iyyah*). All related cases, gambling in particular, were dealt with in the state court. However, the tsunami severely damaged most coastal area of Acèh on 26 December 2004 and created a momentum for further pushing the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in the region. Whether or

Islamic *shari'a* laws in Aceh. In other words, Islamic *syari'a* movements have not yet successfully demanded a bigger role for the autonomous province of Aceh in upholding morality of the society. “The implementation of Islamic *syari'a* in Aceh remains more or less entirely under the control of the nation-state of the Republic of Indonesia. As the ‘*ulama*’ and *shari'a* are in a subordinate position vis-a vis the nation-state, there is surely legal and political dissonance in regional implementation of *syari'a* in Indonesia” (Salim, 2008: 167).

In addition, in other parts of Indonesia, but also increasingly in Aceh, there is a disturbing tendency towards “mob justice” which can endanger the role of law and the stability of society. This happens when groups or elements in society feel that their own personal interpretation of the laws (national law, *adat* law and *shari'a* law)¹²⁰ is not being strictly implemented and they decide to take the law into their own hands and impose their idea of justice outside the legal system (or legal systems). The “mob justice” was seen in Aceh at Lhoknga Beach when the wooden shelters belong to a café were destroyed by a crowd of youths who complained that the shelters were being used by the people violating the *khalwat*. Their claim may or may not have been true, but by their action they themselves were guilty of the destruction of private property (belonging to the café owner). For this they could-and should-be charged by the Police, as the crowd had no authority to be involved in this action-even if they believe passionately that the world would be a better place without a wooden shelters where the *khalwat* could be violated. The same applies to those who attacked a building being used as a church in Banda Aceh. Again private property was illegally destroyed by a crowd.¹²¹

If incidents of “mob justice” are allowed to continue unpunished, Aceh will then very quickly get the name of being a province where lawlessness in

not the tsunami was the decisive factor factors in spreading up the application of *shari'a* in Aceh depends much the people the people conceived the catastrophe itself. Many Acehnese saw it a spiritual test or even a punishment from God and saw it as a creating an opportunity for accelerating the application of *shari'a* in Aceh. For them, the tsunami was not merely a coincidence, but the will of God. There is a believed that through the tsunami, God told the Acehnese to stop committing sinful deeds, to reconcile with each other, and to return to the religion as a way of salvation. In short, the tsunami brought a message the Acehnese people should comply with *shari'a* rules and the provincial governments should enforce them in earnest. Some other Acehnese, however, perceived the tsunami merely a natural process (*sunnatullah*), a geological shift under the earth. For them the tsunami has nothing to do with the implementation of *shari'a*. They argued that even if *shari'a* were fully implemented in Aceh, there is no guarantee that another tsunami would not hit Aceh in the future. Since Aceh unfortunately is located where earthquake often occur, the tsunami is one occurrence and the application of the *shari'a* is another matter (Salim, 2008: 163). One of the facts is that post-tsunami situation had created a context for the proponents of *shari'a* to emotionally pressure the provincial government and the central government to more earnestly applies *shari'a* in Aceh although the ‘*ulama*’ claim that the tsunami was not as escalating factor for the implementation of *shari'a* in Aceh.

¹²⁰ Aceh is unique because it has three recognized systems of law existing side by side. They are national law, *adat* law and *shari'a* law. Aceh has proved very pioneering in developing new ways of improving policing and maintaining social order (see Beer, 2012).

¹²¹ See Beer “National law, Adat and Sharia Law in Aceh in 2012 and beyond”.

increasing. This will have a direct negative influence economic development as potential investors will go elsewhere rather than investing in a legally unstable Acèh. The sensitiveness of the international investors has already been shown by a Korean company that has postponed its investment in a much needed rice processing factory in Acèh Besar because of the ethnically killings in Acèh on December 2010 and January 2001.¹²² However, one of staff from the provincial office of Islamic *shari'a* said that the government through Dinas Syariat Islam has already given full support and done many things for the successful of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh.

Perception to the Formalization of *Shari'a* Laws

The implementation of *shari'a* for Muslims is a fundamental obligation that is part of the religion, it is not depending to whom and it is not related to any circumstances. Every Muslims shall endeavor to carry out Islamic *shari'a* as a whole in many aspects of life. The awareness of the Muslim community should be involved to the Islamic *shari'a*.

The implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh has already reached more than fifteen years, but various pessimistic responses about the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh appeared that the implementation has not yet been fully run in accordance with the aims and objectives of the *shari'a* itself. This could be due to the lack of clarity of systematic procedures; many opinions expressed the *shari'a* implementation is still only a symbolic discourse, while the goals and targets have not yet been fully real in the life of the people of Aceh. Similarly, some non-Muslims raised clearly expectations about a visible manifestation of their concern about the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh, although it has several times affirmed that the Islamic *shari'a* applies only for Muslims, but they still worry that they will not get a chance to live worth as Christians in the region of *shari'a*. Moreover, by the fact lately this is a militant Muslim fundamentalist movement that is considered so eager to destroy other religions.

Pessimistic responses towards the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* laws in Acèh are that its implementation has not been run in accordance with the rules and procedures as well as the target of the Islamic *shari'a* laws itself or its implementation remained at the same level.¹²³ The government's commitment both at the provincial and regency level as well as the village level do not yet fully support ("still in a half heart") the formalization of Islamic *shari'a*. The Islamic *shari'a* laws in Acèh is not yet fully run as they are hoped because the

¹²²Five years ago, Acèh again negatively in the international news when official questions were asked in the European Parliament in Brussels, Belgium about "mob justice" in Acèh when individual were hunting down and "punishing" couples suspected of violating the *khawatir*. Under no system of law do individuals have the right to punish possible offenders (Beer (2012).

¹²³ David de Beer (2012) also claimed that over the same period of time the implementation of *shari'a* laws remained at the same level. It is clear that within the religious bureaucracy (*Dinas Syariat Islam* or the provincial office of Islamic *shari'a*) and other Islamic institutions there is dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs regarding the implementation of *shari'a* laws and that for example, greater powers are wanted by the *shari'a* police.

level of violation is not yet able to be eliminated and it continuously increases (Isa, 2013: 18). In addition, another pessimistic response from an informant is that its implementation is still at the level of looking for a format and a strategic program for certain incumbents who are more dominant to make use of Islamic *shari'a* as a tool to maintain their power compared to realization of justice and welfare for the society.

The declaration of *shari'a* some time ago has caused polemic in some circles. Pro and contra surrounding the implementation of *shari'a* in Aceh at least describe some things said informants. First, attention was greater than the number of local communities, nationally and internationally. Attention is given not only to the formulation of the rule of law in a number of *qanun*, but also in law enforcement *shari'a* process. Both the expectations of a number of people for the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh can be a model of the application of *shari'a* law in Indonesia, since many countries appeared to have failed in implementing the *shari'a* laws that is not in line with the provisions of the state. Nurcholish Majid had mentioned that many countries such as Pakistan, Afghanistan, Sudan has failed in implementing *shari'a* law, and the only hope departed from Aceh. Third, pro and contra of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh can be seen as an effort to maintain and sensitize the authorities to be truly realized the full overall Islamic *shari'a*, and the application of *shari'a* law without favoritism through humanism and sociological approaches.

The views from the pro-Islamic *shari'a* implementation state that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* is a grace which we should be grateful, because the juridical base is strong enough that Law No. 44 of 1999 and Law No.11 of 2006. Because through both laws, it is expected that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* will be realized as a whole, because without the Law, the implementation of *shari'a* perhaps can only be done in faith and worship dimensions only, whereas public aspect cannot be implemented at all. Similarly with flogging, according to this view, is in conformity with the provisions of the al-Quran and al-Hadith because the law is a form of punishment that can be applied to the perpetrators of criminal called *hudud* or *ta'zir*.

Viewing of the pro and contra surrounding of the implementation of *shari'a* in Aceh emerged as one due to limited scientific framework built. Society cannot understand both the substance of *shari'a* law and the rule of law, because it is not accompanied by a scholarly foundation of law. Polemics about *shari'a* actually leads to two major poles that *shari'a* law formulation in the regulation and enforcement of *shari'a* law. The formulated material as outlined in a number of *qanun* is the adoption and *ijtihad* of the scholars of Aceh to a number of legal provisions derived from the Qur'an and *al-Hadits*. Interpretation and repeated understanding of a number of provisions, practices and traditions have made legal authorities in Aceh and form to suit the Aceh circumstances. Thus, in terms of the substance of the regulation is still perceived not incarnate with good sociological and humanism values, and even legal arrangements regarding

the event which serves to enforce the law requires formulation and so on. It is important to note, that the material formulation of *qanun* comes from the scholars' *ijtihad* and certainly it cannot be absolute. Therefore, the existing material of *shari'a qanun* has been very open to be criticized and revised. In terms of enforcement of Islamic *shari'a* law in Aceh, in fact it is not entirely perfect, given the procedural law that have not been arranged properly, law enforcement officers have not yet entirely understand the *shari'a* law, it means pre supporting facilities are not yet available, and community awareness is still quite low. Therefore, enforcement of *shari'a* law is not only in terms of the legal matter, but must be viewed from a variety of other dimensions such as law enforcement personnel, facilities and pre means and legal awareness.

Another emerging response to the application of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh is that its implementation has not touched the substance; it is still only touch the surface. In fact there are crucial opinions that the application of *shari'a* should be legitimated from the Qur'an and *Hadits*. There is also a statement that for the realization of the application of *shari'a* needs to socialize *shari'a* education for people who are still lacking in the understanding and the implementation should start from leaders and government first.

Furthermore, there is a reality that persists in Banda Aceh today that there are very brave people and even they dare to violate *shari'a* against officers during a raid openly. The number of violations in the city of Banda Aceh is now very worrying. Meanwhile, Banda Aceh is the capital of Aceh province, which should provide an example for other regions. But, public awareness with Islamic *shari'a* law seems still very low. And ironically, not only they do not want to obey, but instead intensified so in opposition and infringement. In fact, they often fight the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* openly in Banda Aceh. It was caused, among others, namely, by limited facilities and infrastructure, limited human resources, they still lack the rules or the regulation, especially in the enforcement of *shari'a*, limited authority in the resolution of criminal cases, as well as the lack of seriousness and commitment of all parties including the government in efforts to accelerate the implementation of Islamic law in Aceh. This implies that the government, communities, provincial parliament as a legislative body, should go hand in hand in guarding and responsible for the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh, especially in Banda Aceh. People expect that the commitment in implementation of Islamic *shari'a* not only merely wishful thinking, but how its implementation can be accomplished in a reality in accordance with the objectives of *shari'a* itself.

In fact, there are many pessimistic responses towards the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh because it is caused by the absence of systematic procedure in the implementation of the *shari'a*. Clearly, it is not easy to implement Islamic *shari'a* as the whole in all aspects of life despite this being everyone's expectations, but at least there is an attempt (little by little) towards it said one informant. The implantation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh should be able to realize the expectations, which is not far from desires and demands of *shari'a* itself. One informant said that the implementation of *shari'a* in Aceh still

only a symbolic discourse, while the goals and objectives of *shari'a* has not been so evident in the life of the people of Aceh.

It is a very important thing to realize that the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh in accordance with the guidance of the *shari'a* and the expected desire of society, especially in the city of Banda Aceh. It was said that Islamic *shari'a* should be implemented in accordance with the *shari'a qanun*, especially *qanun* 11 of 2002 on the application of Islamic *shari'a* in the field of *aqidah*, worship and symbols of Islam. Success or failure of the application of the *shari'a* highly depends on the influence of the implementation of the application of *shari'a*. *Qanun* No. 11 of 2002 on the application of Islamic law in the field of faith, worship, and symbols of Islam was passed on October 14th, 2002, and enacted on January 6th, 2003.

It was found that at least there are four answers to the question for what *shari'a* is applied in Aceh: first the goal to be achieved on the grounds of religious (theological) that implementation of *shari'a* is a religious commandment for a Muslim that can be more perfect, that is closer to Allah. The second goal by psychological reasons, which people will feel safe and secure because of what was prevailing around them, they lead activities in education, in everyday life and so appropriate and in line with the consciousness and conscience of their own. The third goal with a legitimate reason, people will live in a system that is more in line with the rule of law awareness, sense of justice and values that grow and develop in society. The fourth, with the goal of economic and social welfare reasons, that the value-added economic activities, and social solidarity in the form of helping good for economic activity or for social activities will be more easily formed and more solid. Another goal, is to make the *shari'a* as mentors who can meet the needs of the people of Aceh today, and the future of society is in transition towards modernization, without the need to feel there is a gap between religious guidance that is believed in one hand with the progress of science and technology he has learned and he needed to work and "prosperity in the world" on the other hand.

As mentioned above, the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* does not only refer to the model and the ideas of scholars of the past, but also will try to reformulate a new understanding so that people feel more secure with the guidance of the Qur'an and the *Sunnah* of the Prophet. Thus, *shari'a* which is to be carried out will refer to the future, in order to meet the demands and needs of the times which are more complicated and complex. Furthermore, the goal in the field of law and justice, which is a good implementation of *shari'a* which covers all aspects of life, which is implemented honestly and sincerely, it is expected to bring about justice and order in accordance with the legal awareness of the people of Aceh itself. With the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* as a whole then tyranny will be terminated and justice can be enforced better and more perfect.

Conclusion

The issue of *sharia* law is in the center of public discussions in Aceh and certainly will remain to be so for the time coming. Attempts to institutionalize *sharia* in Aceh, especially in the Banda Aceh have always been marked by conflicts between the political aspirations of the proponents and the opponents of *shari'a* and by the resistance from the secular State. Present-day views about *shari'a* reinforcement, signs of contestation and resistance are themselves primarily framed terms of Acehnese identity and they cannot be separated from the political context in which *shari'a* arose. Indeed, behind the motivations to implement *sharia* personal political ambitions and reputations play a significant role as well. Moreover, there is a disturbing tendency towards 'mob justice' that threatens the authority of law and the stability of society. These issues are decisive for future developments not only in Aceh, but in the whole of Indonesia, for the authority of the State and of State law differs fundamentally from the authority of *shari'a* law at the time of its original development in the seventh and eighth centuries.

In reality the application of *shari'a* laws, according to the general impression of the people, has tended towards more the implementation of the physical things while the substance of the application of Islamic *shari'a* has not yet been fully realized in the life of the people in the capital city. The application of *shari'a* has not fully been run in accordance with the principles and objectives of the *shari'a* itself, while its application is still somehow at the "skin level" only. Its implementation is still at the level of looking for a format and a strategic program for certain incumbents who are more dominant to make use of Islamic *shari'a* as a tool to maintain their power compared to realization of justice and welfare for the society.

Many people consider that the application of *shari'a* in the capital city which has lasted more than fifteen years has not yet fully show a maximum development; in fact there is no significant difference pattern of community life with the condition prior to the enactment of *shari'a*. This can be seen in the practice of religion after the imposition of Islamic *shari'a* in which the situation did not change very much. The number of worshipers in mosques is still fewer than that of in coffee shops and cafes in certain part of the capital city, there are still many women wear clothes that do not fit the *shari'a* even today there are people who dare to violate the *shari'a* laws.

In the context of implementation, a good understanding of the community and comprehensive Islamic *shari'a* is needed, so as to pave the way for the enforcement of *shari'a* law in Aceh. *Shari'a* should be understood in a quite broad sense, not just in the criminal law, but also in other dimensions such as education, health, economic, social, cultural and other contexts as well. Therefore, dissemination to the public of *shari'a* is one determinant of the success of the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh. In addition, it must be recognized that the application of *shari'a* at Islam is impossible to be implemented immediately without notice its process. Therefore, offering *tadarruj* theory (gradualism) presumably could consider for the implementation of Islamic *shari'a* in Aceh. The application of *shari'a* had been done gradually by

the consideration of its readiness. This is had been exemplified by the Prophet Muhammad in Mecca and Medina period. Thus, the successful of implementation of Islamic *shari'a* is determined by all supporting components such as material good law, law enforcement officers, in infrastructure, public legal awareness, political will of governments and thorough socialization so that it will be a growing awareness that the *shari'a* Islam is the need for the community. The strategy towards the implementation of *shari'a* law is the implementation of awareness and understanding of coaching personnel and the public. Both are very important as a solution, the imperfections of the implementation would raise doubts and rejection from the people; it will be refuted by itself. The strategy does require thought and struggle of political upheaval, reversed burden of proof, however, should also be made to further real situation.

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المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى

بودي جولياني / ليما دحلياني

الجامعة حوت كلا الإسلامية الحكومية لنجسا

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الملخص: تناول هذا المقال بحثاً وفقيشاً في قضية مشاركة المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى . استعرض المقال التالي أن مشاركة المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى لا تزال نخبوية ولم تكن قادرة على الكفاح من أجل حقوق المرأة على نطاق واسع خصوصاً على حقوقها السياسية في عهد الملك عبد الله . وتساءلت هذه الدراسة فكرة سمر فطاني (2014) أن المرأة السعودية حصلت على حقوقها على نطاق واسع بعد تعيين الملك عبد الله عدداً من النساء في العضوية لمجلس الشورى السعودي . هذه الدراسة هي دراسة مكتبة . وقد تم جمع البيانات من خلال مجموعة متنوعة من المعلومات من الواقع والمقالات والمجلات والكتب المتعلقة بقضايا حقوق المرأة في السعودية فضلاً عن التطورات الأخيرة في مجلس الشورى السعودي . كان من المرجو من هذا البحث ، أن يتمكن من الإسهام أن مجلس الشورى هو المدخل لتعزيز حقوق المرأة السعودية .

الكلمات المفتاحية: المرأة السعودية ، مجلس الشورى ، الليبراليون ، المحافظون

Abstract: This study shows that the participation of Saudi women in the Shura Council is still elitist and they not able to fight for women's rights on a large scale, especially their political rights in the era of the king Abdullah. The issue of women and their enjoyment of their rights issues of concern to scientists and intellectuals in Saudi Arabia, and the issue of women's political rights is becoming more exciting research topics and debate. The status of women in the Shura Council will be a great debate between liberals and conservatives in the kingdom. Regardless of the debate, this study will address whether women in the Saudi Shura Council managed to get their political rights. This study questioned the idea of Samar Pattani (2014) that Saudi women got their rights on a large scale after King Abdullah appointed a number of women in the municipal elections and the membership of the Saudi Shura Council.

Keywords: Saudi women, the shura council, liberals, conservatives

المقدمة

يبحث هذا المقال في الصراع بين الليبراليين والمحافظين في مشاركة المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى السعودي . انتقدت هذه الدراسة فكرة سمر فطاني (2014) حيث قالت إن المرأة السعودية حصلت على حقوقها على نطاق واسع بعد تعيين الملك عبد الله (2005-2015) عدداً من النساء في العضوية لمجلس الشورى السعودي .

هذه الدراسة هي دراسة مكتبة. وقد تم جمع البيانات من خلال مجموعة متنوعة من المعلومات من الواقع والمقالات والمجلات والكتب المتعلقة بقضايا حقوق المرأة في السعودية فضلاً عن التطورات الأخيرة في مجلس الشورى السعودي.

ووصف هذا المقال على النحو التالي: لبدء النقاش حول عضوية المرأة في مجلس الشورى، بين هنا البحث التمهيسي الإنساني للمرأة في السعودية، قدم الباحث قرار الملك عبد الله بشأن مشاركة المرأة السعودية في الانتخابات البلدية وعضوية المرأة في مجلس الشورى السعودي، واستجابة لعضوية المرأة في مجلس الشورى عند المأيدين والخالفين. ويخلل القسم التالي وجود المرأة في مجلس الشورى والجهود حيث قام بها المرأة في مجلس الشورى من أجل الحصول على تحقيق حقوق المرأة السعودية والتحديات التي تواجهها. وتنهي المادة تنتهي مع الاستنتاجات والتوصيات الأكاديمية.

مقارنة لتمثيل المرأة السعودية

وفي مقارنة لتمثيل المرأة السعودية في الجانب السياسي ضمن النساء في الخليج فإنها تعتبر الأخيرة في دخولها الحياة السياسية؛ حيث سبقتها نساء دول الخليج إلى مجلس الشورى، ومع ذلك فالمشاركة السياسية لا تعني فقط عضوية مجلس الشورى مثلما أنها تعتمد على مشاركة المرأة في صنع القرارات وتتنفيذها؛ لذا فإنه من المتضرر من المرأة السعودية أن يكون تمثيلها في مجلس الشورى فاعلاً؛ لأن التحجزة السياسية لا يمكن ثبات نجاحها بالاستناد إلى عامل الوقت فقط، كما أشارت بدريه العوضي في مقالها «اليوم العالمي للمرأة واستدامة حقوق المرأة الخليجية» (جريدة القبس فبراير 2011) إلى أن تجربة مشاركة المرأة الخليجية في العمل السياسي منذ التسعينيات حتى الآن تدل على نجاح جهود القيادة السياسية بصورة خاصة في تمكين المرأة من ممارسة حقوق المواطن، رغم الصعوبات الاجتماعية التي تواجه هذه المبادرات الرائدة من القيادات السياسية في غالبية هذه الدول بسبب سيطرة العادات والتقاليد المناهضة لتمكين المرأة من حقوق المواطن.

وتاريخياً فإن المرأة العمانية هي أول من شارك في العمل السياسي منذ الفترة الثانية لمجلس الدولة 1994 - 1997، والمرأة في قطر دخلت مجلس الشورى في عام 1997م ثم تبعتها المرأة البحرينية؛ حيث منحتها الدولة عام 2002 حق التصويت والترشح في الانتخابات البلدية والنيابية. وجاء قرار مجلس الأمة الكويتي في عام 2005 ليمنح المرأة الكويتية الحق في التصويت والترشح في انتخابات المجالس النيابية، أما المرأة الإماراتية فقد بدأت العمل السياسي منذ عام 2008، في عضوية المجلس الوطني الاتحادي بطريقه الانتخاب والتعيين، ووصلت نسبة مشاركة المرأة في العمل إلى 22.5 % في المجلس الوطني الاتحادي؛ لتصبح مشاركة المرأة الإماراتية هي الأعلى في التمثيل النسائي في السلطة التشريعية على المستوى الخليجي.

المدول 1: مقارنة لتمثيل المرأة السعودية في الجانب السياسي ضمن النساء في الخليج

المرأة السعودية	المرأة الإماراتية	المرأة الكويتية	المرأة البحرينية	المرأة في قطر	المرأة العمانية
2011	2008	2005	2002	1997	1997

التمهيسي الإنساني للمرأة في السعودية

ينص النظام الأساسي في المملكة العربية السعودية للحكم في مادته الثامنة على أن الحكم يقوم على أساس العدل والشورى والمساواة وفق الشريعة الإسلامية، وبؤكد الإعلان العالمي لحقوق الإنسان على مبدأ عدم التمييز، ويعلن أن جميع الأفراد يولدون أحراًا ومتساوين في الكرامة والحقوق، وأن لكل إنسان حق المُتعن بحقوق الحريات دون أي تمييز(الهاني: 2010).

كما صادقت المملكة على اتفاقية القضاء على كافة أشكال التمييز ضد المرأة (CEDAW) عام 2000م مع تحفظات فضفاضة على كل ما يتنافى مع الشريعة الإسلامية (يرى البعض أنها مشنة الاتفاقية) ، بالإضافة إلى تحفظات محددة تتعلق بالفقرة الثانية من المادة التاسعة والفقرة الأولى من المادة 29 مما ليس له علاقة بالدين (الهاني: 2010).

ورغم نص المساواة وعدم التمييز في دستور الحكم والاتفاقيات الدولية التي صادقت عليها الحكومة إلا أن واقع المرأة هو التمييز والتهميش الصارخ. تعيس المرأة السعودية التمييش الإنساني على كل المستويات السياسية والاقتصادية والاجتماعية والتعلمية والقانونية والمدنية، ومن جميع الأطراف من الدولة والمجتمع والأسرة ومن المرأة ذاتها (فريدمان: 2013) .

وعلى الرغم من التوجه والاجماليات الإصلاحية القائمة إلا أن المرأة لا زالت تعاني من التمييز والتهميش الإنساني بشكل واضح في كل المجالات مثل المجال السياسي والاقتصادي والقضائي والاجتماعي (فريدمان: 2013) .

التمييش في المجال السياسي:

1. لا يوجد أي امرأة في مجلس الوزراء (تجدر الاشارة لتعيين الدكتورة نورة بنت عبد الله الفائز في منصب نائبة وزير التربية والتعليم).
2. 150 عضو في مجلس الشورى - تم تعيين 12 امرأة مؤخرًا كلجنة استشارية غير متفرغة.
3. 170 عضو مجلس بلدي ولا توجد امرأة واحدة.
4. ليس للمرأة أي موقع في مراكز اتخاذ القرار.
5. ليس للمرأة أي دور أو مكان في جميع مؤسسات الدولة الرسمية، ماعدا فروع في وزارتي التعليم والصحة.(عضوات الغرف التجارية)
6. لم تشارك المرأة في انتخابات المجالس البلدية عام 2005 م والتي كانت أول انتخابات في المملكة، لم تشارك بها المرأة لا كمرشحة ولا ناخبة على الرغم من أنها كانت بعد توقيع المملكة على اتفاقية مناهضة التمييز ضد المرأة (CEDAW) .

التمييش في المجال الاقتصادي:

1. تمثل المرأة 7% فقط من سوق العمل.
2. مجال العمل للمرأة مقصور على التمريض والتعليم وبعض المصارف.
3. مشاركة المرأة في القطاع الخاص 2.6% من مجموعقوى العاملة.
4. لا تستطيع المرأة متابعة إجراءاتها التجارية إلا من خلال وكيل أو ما استحدث أخيراً مدير أعمال.
5. في دراسة أعدتها د. سلوى عبد المنعم أستاذة الاقتصاد في جامعة الملك فيصل أكدت فيها أن نسب البطالة بين الحاصلات على شهادة البكالوريوس 646.5% وبين حاملات شهادة الثانوية 621.4% وأن

95.6% من العاطلات غير المتزوجات مما يؤكد عدم وجود تشريع يكفل تطور المرأة وتقديمها بمساواة مع الرجل.

التمييز في المجال القضائي:

1. لا تترافق المرأة في المحاكم ولا في قضايا الأحوال الشخصية.

2. لا تحضر المرأة للمحكمة بدون محام.. فتكون قضاياها معلقة بمواقفه.

3. لا يوجد قانون أحوال شخصية واضح ومحدد وإنما تترك كثير من الأحكام إلى فهم ورأي القاضي الشخصي الذي يكون من خريجي الدراسات الشرعية فقط، ليس دارساً ولا عارفاً بالقانون.

التمييز في المجال الاجتماعي:

1. لا تستطيع المرأة السفر إلا بإذن ولد الأمر.

2. لا يسمح بالعمل إلا بموقفه ولد الأمر.

3. لا يسمح للمرأة بالتعلم إلا بإذن ولد الأمر.

4. سلطة الولي غير مرهونة بأي اعتبار إنساني.

5. لا يوجد قانون أحوال شخصية واضح ومقنن.

6. لا هوية للمرأة وحتى بعد عام 2000 الذي تم فيه استصدار بطاقة شخصية ليس لها قيمة اعتبارية حتى في دخول مستشفى أو مركز صحي. (ماذا عن البطاقة الإلكترونية النسائية الجديدة والتي لاختلف عن البطاقة التي يستخدمها الرجال التي دشتتها الأميرة جواهر بنت نايف حرم أمير المنطقة الشرقية يوم

الثلاثاء 30 مارس 2010

7. يتم تطليق المرأة دون علمها ولا حضانتها لها.

8. المرأة السعودية مقيدة بنظامية معقدة من القوانيں والأعراف.

يتحسن وضع المرأة في كل دول العالم مع تحسين مستوى المعيشة. فتتجه الخطط التنموية إلى تكين كل أفراد المجتمع وعلى رأسهم تكين المرأة اقتصادياً واجتماعياً وسياسياً. ولكن ما حدث عند المرأة السعودية هو بالاتجاه المعاكس، وبعد ازدهار اقتصاد الدولة ، وزيادة العلم ، ورفع المستوى المعيشي بعدت النساء -أو ابتعدت- عن الحياة العامة، وأصبح مكان وواقع المرأة السعودية هو المنزل (موريس: ص، 76، 2013).

استأنست بعض النساء في البداية إلى حياة الراحة والدعة وصدق أنّها ملكة. تُخدم، وأنّها جوهرة مكونة لابد من حفظها ووضعها في علبة جميلة لائقه بها، ولكن هل هذه هي الحياة؟ وهل علمت هذه النسوة ما الذي يجهه عليهن هذا الحال؟ مزيد من الرضا. مزيد من الاستسلام لرأي الزوج والأخ والأب وبطبيعة المرأة تنازلت المرأة عن حقها في العمل خارج البيت ومارست حياتها الطبيعية والسعوي في الحياة إلى جانب الرجل. فقادى الرجل ليجعل هذا الوضع فرض وواجب. وبالتالي تحول هذا البيت الجميل إلى سجن. داخل سجن كبير هو الوطن (موريس: ص، 76).

فالسعودية كما وصفته الناشطة الحقوقية وجيبة الحوير هي أكبر سجين للنساء. فكما تقول أيضاً:

إن قانون المحرم السعودي حول النساء إلى سجينات من المهد إلى اللحد لا يمكن أن يخرجن من زنزانتهن (بيوتمن) أو سجينهن الأكبر (البلد) سوى بتصریح موقع ومصدق من إدارة السجن. ومع أن النساء السعوديات أكثر نساء العالم مسلوبات الحقوق والكرامة . لكنهن مازلن يتتحملن كل أصناف القهر والظلم بصمت مرير وغضب مكبوت وحسرة قاتلة، وال سعوديات مسلمات بكل ما تحمل تلك الكلمة من معنى، لكن الدولة حتى اللحظة لم تقدر

أبداً أرواحهن الطيبة. ولا صبرهن الطويل ، ولا مقاومتهن الهدائة، بل على العكس تماماً فرجال الدين الذين خولتهم الدولة لقهر النساء اعتبروا صمت النساء وصبرهن ضعفاً فيهن ، وقصوراً في عقولهن، وعجزاً في أحاسيسهن، لذلك زادوا جرعات الضيم عليهم عبر العقود والسنوات الماضية. ضيقوا عليهم الخناق وحاصروهن في جميع مناحي الحياة بقوانين قاهرة ويرجح الحسبة الذين يطاردوهن في كل مكان وكأنهن "فارات من العدالة" .. القوانين الخاصة بالمرأة حولتها إلى أدلة تنفيض للذكور المرضى سواء للجنس أو للعنف (شاه: ، 2009،).

ورجال الدين السعوديين بفتواهم المجنحة وبماركة من رجال الدولة، حرموا النساء السعوديات من فرصة الحصول على عمل أو دراسة أو تنقل أو علاج أو أبسط الحقوق سواء بإذن سجينها "الحرم" بالرغم من أن جداتهن وأمهاتهن كن يخعن بتلك الحقوق وينعن بحياة أكثر حرية (ميرل: ص، 2012، 156).

قطوبي للسعودية مملكة الإنسانية التي حولت أرضها إلى أكبر سجن للنساء في العالم، ورخصت لكل رجل سعودي أن يمتهن وظيفة السجن بدون قيد أو شرط وجعلت من النساء حبسات طوال حياتهن بدون أن يقتربن ذنبًا أو يرتكبن خطيئة (موريس: ص، 76، 2008).

وفي حالة ارتكاب الجرم والسجن، الرجل السجين يخرج عندما يكون حسن السيرة ويحفظ أجزاءً من القرآن أو عفو عام أو تنتهي محاكمته. أما المرأة السعودية فهي لا تخرج من زنزانتها إلا بشرط حضور الحرم ليتسللها. وهناك كثيرات قابعات في السجون لأن محارمن رفضوا أن يخرجوهن. والمرأة السعودية الطليقة هي امرأة مسجونة حقاً لأنها لا تستطيع الخروج والسفر والتنتقل إلا بإذن الحرم. وهذا السجن غير محدد المدة. بل هو سجن مدى الحياة. لا تخرج منه إلا بإذن الزوج وكأنه يتكلم بها عليها، ولذلك يستغل الكبير هذا للمساومة (ميرل: ص، 76).

إن سيادة الخطاب الديني واستيلائه على جميع مؤسسات الدولة والذي اكتسب قوته من الدولة، وأصبح هذا الخط المتشدد هو المهيمن في كل مؤسساتها، وللأسف أصبح هذا المد المنحرف يسري إلى بلدان عربية وإسلامية، فالعنصرية ضد النساء تزداد يوماً بعد يوم. وتعلم أن هذه القوانين القاسية المجنحة ليست من الدين ولكنها أعراف رجعية بالية استمدت من المجتمع الجاهل المتخلف. والرجل المسلط الظالم (ميرل: ص، 76).

المجدول 2: الأمر الملكي وقرار المرأة السعودية

2015	2014	2011	2006	2005
ويضم مجلس الشورى الحالي في عضويته 30 امرأة من أصل 150 عضواً هم جموع أعضاء المجلس. كما أقرت مشاركة المرأة في الترشح والانتخاب لعضوية المجالس البلدية	صدر الأمر الملكي بأن تكون المرأة عضواً يخضع بالحقوق الكاملة للقضوية في مجلس الشورى، وأن تشغله نسبة 20% من مقاعد العضوية كحد أدنى	دخول المرأة السعودية عضوة في مجلس الشورى، ومنح حق الانتخاب لها في مجالس البلدية بوصفها مرشحة وناخبة	قرار بزيادة عددهن إلى 12 مستشاراً بالجلس، بدون أحقيّة التصويت	تعيين 6 مستشارات غير متفرغات في مجلس الشورى

التغير قادم للمرأة السعودية، ولكن ببطء. سنوات طويلة، أبقيت القوانين الصارمة والتقاليid المخالفة المرأة السعودية خارج أماكن العمل، 60 في المئة من خريجي الجامعات السعودية هم من النساء، ومع ذلك، بالكاد تصل نسبة من يدخلن سوق العمل 15 في المئة (ريديفير، 2014).

القيود تتضمن، ولكن ببطء. فقد ارتفع عدد النساء السعوديات العاملات في القطاع الخاص من 55 ألفاً عام 2010 إلى 454 ألفاً ب نهاية عام 2013، طبقاً لأرقام نشرتها وزارة العمل السعودية. ويعود الفضل في هذه الزيادة إلى عاملين، هما مطالبة المرأة بحقوقها، وسلسلة الإصلاحات التي أدخلها الملك الراحل عبدالله بن عبد العزيز، الذي سمح بدخول نساء إلى مجلس الشورى، وعين أول امرأة في منصب نائب وزير، وخفف بشكل عام القيود على الوظائف التي يمكن أن تتولاها المرأة (ريديفير، 2014).

فقد بات الآن يسمح للمرأة السعودية بالعمل في مجال الفندقة والبيع، كما شهدت ب نهاية عام 2013 منح أول نساء سعوديات لشهادة الحماة، كما تقوم المملكة الآن بتوظيف النساء في السلك الدبلوماسي. فضلاً عن ذلك، أصبح من الممكن للنساء تولي وظائف مثل رئاسة تحرير الصحف، أو تقديم برامج حوارية في التلفزيون.

القرار سيحمل إشكالية كبيرة لدى التيار المحافظ

و حول قرارات الملك والرفض الواضح فيها لتمكين المرأة في المجتمع السعودي، أكد الكاتب الصحفي السعودي جمال خاشقجي على أن في ذلك إشارة واضحة لتحول واسع سيائياً يخص المرأة السعودية، فالتمكين لا يقتصر فقط على عضويتها في مجلس الشورى أو في المجالس البلدية، فالمملوك يريد للمرأة أن تكون قوية في مجتمعها، عبر تمكينها بإلغاء كل القيود المفروضة عليها، فالقرار حرم جداً، وما سيأتي بعده سيكون أهم (فسار، 2013).

وتتابع خاشقجي قائلاً: "إن قرار عضوية المرأة في مجلس الشورى حل إشكالية كانت هائلة لدى التيار المحافظ، وهي موقفه السلي من موضوع ولاية المرأة، لأن المحافظين يرون أن المرأة في المجلس التشريعي (مجلس الشورى) والمجلس الرقابي (المجلس البلدي) ستمارس ولاية، وإذا كانوا بقوة واقناع السلطان قبلوا بعلاج هذه المسألة، فمسألة أقل، وليس فيها إشكالات شرعية، مثل قيادتها للسيارة، حان الوقت لأن يقبلوها أيضاً" (فسار، 2013،).

التحديات في مواجحة الفرص

أعاد الملك عبدالله، تشكيل مجلس الشورى وقام بتعيين 30 سيدة بالمجلس لأول مرة في تاريخ المملكة (www.alarabiya.net، 2013). وبين الأمر الملكي الأول على تخصيص 20% من مقاعد المجلس للنساء، بينما يتضمن الأمر الملكي الثاني أسماء أعضاء المجلس المعينين والبالغ عددهم 150 (www.alarabiya.net، 2013).

وأوضح الأمران الملكيان أن قرارات العاهل السعودي اتخذت بالتشاور مع العلماء، وهما يحددان طريقة مشاركة النساء في المجلس الذي يتبع بصفة استشارية خصوصاً، موضحين أن قسماً من القاعدة سيخصص لهن، وسيخصص لهن مدخل منفصل عن مدخل الأعضاء الآخرين. وبين الأمر الملكي الأول على تعديل المادة الثالثة من نظام مجلس الشورى الصادر بالأمر الملكي رقم (أ/ 91) بتاريخ 27/8/1412هـ المعدلة بالأمر الملكي رقم (أ/ 26) بتاريخ 2/3/1426هـ، لتصبح بالنص الآتي: يتكون مجلس الشورى من رئيس و 150 عضواً، يختارهم الملك من أهل العلم والخبرة والاختصاص، على ألا يقل تمثيل المرأة فيه عن 20% من عدد الأعضاء، وتحدد حقوق الأعضاء وواجباتهم وجميع شؤونهم بأمر ملكي (فسار، 2013).

أما الأمر الملكي الثاني فهو تعديل المادة الثانية والعشرين، وتنص على الآتي: تكون كل لجنة من اللجان المتخصصة من عدد من الأعضاء يحدده المجلس على لا يقل عن خمسة، ويختار المجلس هؤلاء الأعضاء، وسيعي من بينهم رئيس اللجنة ونائبه، ويؤخذ في الاعتبار حاجة اللجان، واحتياطات العضو، ومشاركة المرأة في اللجان. وللمجلس أن يكون من بين أعضائه لجان خاصة لدراسة موضوع معين، ويجوز لكل لجنة أن تكون من بين أعضائها لجنة فرعية أو أكثر لدراسة موضوع معين (فسار ، 2013) .

وكما تمنع المرأة في عضويتها مجلس الشورى بالحقوق الكاملة للعضوية، وتلتزم بالواجبات والمسؤوليات و مباشرة المهام. وتضمنت المادة التأكيد على التزام المرأة العضو بضوابط الشريعة الإسلامية، دون أي إخلال بها البنتة، وتقييد بالحجاب الشرعي، ويراعي على وجه الخصوص ما يلي:

1. أن يخصص مكان جلوس المرأة، وكذا بوابة خاصة بها للدخول والخروج في قاعة المجلس الرئيسية، وكل ما يتصل بشؤونها بما يضمن الاستقلال عن الرجال.

2. أن تخصص أماكن للمرأة، تضمن الاستقلال التام عن الأماكن المخصصة للرجال بحيث تشتمل على مكاتب مخصصة لها، وللعميلات معها، بما في ذلك التجهيزات والخدمات الضرورية، والمكان المخصص للصلة (ياني ، 2013) .

وفي هذا الصدد، عقب الشيخ محمد الطحيم، على قرار الملك بتعيين ثلاثين سيدة في مجلس الشورى، قائلاً: "تقدمن بالشكر للملك، وإن قراره خطوة حكمة ومواتية للظروف الذي يعيشها العالم والمملكة، التي هي بحاجة إلى رأي متوازن، ومن هنا جاء دخول المرأة للمجلس". وأشار الشيخ الطحيم خلال حديثه لقناة "العربية"، أن العاهل السعودي كان واضحاً حينما عرض في العام الماضي نبأ دخول المرأة للمجلس، والتي لاقت تأييداً من قبل أهل الفكر والعلم (جاكسون ، 1998) .

ولفت إلى أن تعيين المرأة ليس تكملة للمجلس، بل هي أساس من مكوناته، وبفترض أن تكون فاعلة وناشرة فيه، مشيراً في الوقت ذاته إلى أن موافقة العلماء تأتي انسجاماً مع الروح البوية في الإسلام، لكون المرأة في عصر الرسول أخذت كل حقوقها، وكانت تمارس دورها الاجتماعي بشكل إيجابي (جاكسون ، 1998) .

وصرح بأن المنتظر من النساء مشاركة الرجل في بناء هذا الوطن من أجل تحقيق ثانية وطنية.

وبدورها، قالت الدكتورة ثريا العريض إحدى المعينات التي شكلهم قرار الملك، "إن خطوة التعيين، هي بمثابة صك منح الثقة للسيدات للمساهمة في اتخاذ القرارات المهمة ودعم هذا المجتمع، وإنها فرصة أتيحت لنا لكي ثبت قدرة المرأة، وأنواع نجاح هذه التجربة" (جاكسون ، 1998) .

وأوضحت خلال مداخلة هاتيفية على قناة العربية بأن كل النساء المعينات متعلمات ومحترفات بشؤون الوطن، وكل واحدة منها لديها رؤى مختلفة، وقضايا الوطن من أهم أولوياتها، وأنهن سيكملن عضوات كمالات للمشاركة في كافة الملفات، بصورة تكاملية. وتوعدت أن قرار الملك عبدالله، سيفتح مجالات أوسع للمرأة وليس حصرها في المجال السياسي فقط (جاكسون ، 1998) .

القرار محل تقدير الأوساط العالمية

من جانبها وصفت الدكتورة خولة الكبيري، عضو مجلس الشورى، قرار الملك عبدالله، بأنه خطوة أكثر من ممتازة، وأضحي محل تقدير الأوساط العالمية والمحلي، كما أن المسؤولية على عاتقنا ستكون أعظم، وسنشارك بأراثتنا في ثانية النهوض بالوطن بجانب الرجال. وأشارت خلال تصريحها لقناة العربية أن المرأة ستتفاعل مع كافة الملفات المطروحة على الساحة السعودية كعضو فعال، لكون هموم أبناء الوطن والتطلعات والمصلحة العامة واحدة. ولفتت

إلى أن وضع المرأة داخل أروقة المجلس، لن يكون محصوراً على شؤون المرأة أو الموضوعات الأسرية، وأشادت بزميلاتها الآخريات اللواتي جمعهن مجلس الشورى فكل واحدة منهن تتمتع بالخبرة في مجالات مختلفة (باس، 2010).

أسماء السيدات العينات في المجلس

1. الدكتورة إلهام بنت محبوب بن أحمد حسين.
2. الدكتورة أمل بنت سلامة بن سليمان الشمامان.
3. الدكتورة ثريا بنت أحمد بن عبيد بن محمد عبيد.
4. الدكتورة ثريا بنت إبراهيم بن حسين العريض.
5. الدكتورة الجوهرة بنت إبراهيم بن محمد بوسيط.
6. الدكتورة حمدة بنت خلف بن مقبل العزي.
7. الدكتورة حنان بنت عبد الرحيم بن مطلق الأحمدي.
8. الدكتورة حياة بنت سليمان بن حسن سندي.
9. الدكتورة خولة بنت سامي بن سليم الكريع.
10. الدكتورة دلال بنت مخلد بن حمز الحربي.
11. الدكتورة زينب بنت مشني بن عبدة أبوطالب.
12. الأميرة سارة بنت فيصل بن عبدالعزيز آل سعود.
13. الدكتورة سلوى بنت عبدالله بن فهد الم Razan.
14. الدكتورة مني بنت محمد بن صالح الموسري.
15. الأميرة موضي بنت خالد بن عبدالعزيز آل سعود.
16. الدكتورة موضي بنت محمد بن عبدالعزيز الدغيثر.
17. الدكتورة نهاد بنت محمد سعيد بن أحمد الجشي.
18. الدكتورة نورة بنت عبدالعزيز بن عبدالرحمن المبارك.
19. الدكتورة نورة بنت عبدالله بن إبراهيم الأصقة.
20. الدكتورة هيا بنت عبدالله بن عبدالرحمن العدوان.
21. الأستاذة هدى بنت عبدالرحمن بن صالح الحليسي.
22. الدكتورة هيا بنت عبدالعزيز بن ناصر المنيع.
23. الدكتورة وفاء بنت محمود بن عبدالله طيبة.
24. الدكتورة فردوس بنت سعود بن محمد الصاح.
25. الدكتورة لبني بنت عبدالرحمن بن محمد الطيب الأنصاري.
26. الدكتورة لطيفة بنت عثمان بن إبراهيم الشعلان.
27. الدكتورة مستورة بنت عبيد بن لافي الحسيني الشمرى.
28. الدكتورة مني بنت عبدالله بن سعيد آل مشيط.
29. الدكتورة فاطمة بنت محمد بن محسن آل سعيد القرني.
30. الدكتورة فدوى بنت سلامة بن عودة أبو مرية (باس، 2010).

أصوات معارضة

وقد عزز هذه السابقة تطور لافت آخر في المملكة التي يسود فيها تشدد ديني واجتماعي يمنع الاختلاط بين الجنسين وبعده في خانة المحظورات، تمثل بمشاركة النساء الأعضاء في الجلسة من دون وجود عازل بينهن وبين الرجال (سركيس، 2010)

وعلى الرغم من ارتفاع أصوات معارضة ولاسيما من قبل مشايخ الدين المتشددين لصد محاولات الاختلاط داخل المجتمع السعودي، إلا أن تقارير ذكرت أن اقتراح وضع عازل داخل مجلس الشورى لن يجد طريقه إلى التنفيذ (رودمان، 2013). وبعد من ذلك، فإن هذه الأصوات المناهضة لحقوق المرأة بشكل عام، لن تؤثر على السير بالقرار التاريخي في تكريس عضوية المرأة السعودية في مجلس الشورى، وهو قرار كان وعد به الملك عبد الله في 25 سبتمبر 2011. (فورست، 2009). إن هذه الفتنة لا تزيد للمرأة أي تواجد، فهي "تحاربها أنها كانت سوء في معرض الكتاب أو في الندوات والملتقيات وحتى خلال عملها في "سوبر ماركت" مفتوح تبيع به للنساء والرجال". وتحت قبة مجلس الشورى، الذي يعتبر جمه استشارية، فجر الملك السعودي عبدالله بن عبد العزيز مفاجأة اعتبرت من العيار الثقيل على التيار الحافظ، وذلك عندما أعلن دخول المرأة كعضو معين في مجلس الشورى، وكذلك السماح لها بالمشاركة كنائحة ومرشحة في الانتخابات البلدية في دورتها المقبلة. هذا القرار لاقى ترحيباً من قبل النساء، فيما واجهه الحافظون بالرفض والاستنكار (دومانو، 2010).

فقة المتشددين في المجلس

فقة المتشددين في المجلس لامارس اعترافها بشفافية ووضوح داخل قبة المجلس، بل تعمل في الخفاء ومارس أساليب الفساد والدوران؛ بالتواصل مع مؤسسات ذات سلطة رما تكون سلطة "هيبة دينية" لا أكثر، وتديبح الخطابات السرية، لتعطيل أية توصية أو مقترن لابنطاب وأجندتها المتشددة (لو ريان، 2010). تضيق عقلية المعارضين على مشروع نظام مكافحة التحرش، في حياثات هذا الخطاب السري الذي برأ صاحبه اعترافه بوجهات عدة:

1. فهن ناحية نظامية اعترض عليه كونه يتفق مع نظام الحماية من الإيذاء في خمس مواد، وهذا ليس مبرراً للمطالبة بسحبه، فضلاً عن أن يتخد سبيلاً لتجيير الخطابات السرية.
2. أما من الناحية الاجتماعية فذكر "أن من الخير للمجلس والوطن أن ينظر في ملائل الأمور وما يثير المجتمع حق أو بدون حق" (هاموند، 2010).
3. أما اعترافه من الوحمة الشرعية فأبرأه نقطتان:

أولاً: (أن هذا النظام يبني على سلوك يدخل ضمن نطاق تشريع عام يلغى فيه احتجاد القاضي نحو ستر القضية والحفاظ على الأعراض) وهنا مخنصر الغاية من مناهضة مكافحة التحرش، وهو محاربة التنظم والتقيين ضد الجرائم الأخلاقية في مؤسسات عدّة، لتستمر كذبة الاختلاط؛ الكذبة التحريرية التي جرت الولايات والغوضي الأخلاقية. **ثانياً:** أنه (لا يوجد في المصطلح الفقهي الشريعي مصطلح التحرش بين الجنسين، وهذا يعطي ارتباكاً في سن النظام). وهذه مصيبة سيادة مدارس الفقه التي بادت وسادت هيمنتها حتى بلغت الحال البحث في مصطلح، فإن ساد من جهة البائد ولا فلسقير إبادة الأخلاق، لأن مصطلحها لم يذكر فقهاء القرون البائدة.

يختتم صاحب الخطاب بطلبه (أن يسحب الموضوع من جدول الأعمال إلى أن يستكمل في ضوء المصالح العامة)، فلماذا لم يدل بحجج اعترافه تحت قبة المجلس، بدل المطالبة بسحبه بخطاب سري وأساليب تحريم واهنة الحجة؟ أم أن هذه متطلبات المصالح العامة؟ إن التحرش الجنسي ظاهرة عامة لاتخضع نوعاً محدداً ولا عمراً معيناً، وتنظيم مكافحته قانونياً حاجة أخلاقية ملحّة، كما ضرورة مكافحة الجرائم الأخلاقية الأخرى.

لقد عرضت جريدة عكاظ حجم كارثة التحرش ضد الأطفال، حيث كشفت المستشارية التربوية الاجتماعية د. شيخة العودة عن دراسة تم إعدادها في المملكة حول التحرش الجنسي بالأطفال تشير لقراءة مرتفعة، حيث يتعرض طفل واحد بين كل أربعة أطفال للتتحرش، كما وتطرقت لدراسة أخرى حول إيناء الأطفال جنسياً عام 2002 بيّنت أن 49.23% من هم في سن 14 سنة من إجمالي عدد سكان المملكة تعرضوا للتتحرش، رغم تكريم الأطفال أو الأسر نفسها خوفاً من المتعدّي أو الفضيحة. فكيف يتشكّل عاقل بهدف المطالبة بنظام مكافحة التحرش؟ (كشيشيان، 2010).

الملحوظ أن مجلس الشورى حظي -منذ دخول المرأة فيه- لحرراك أكثر فاعلية، فإنه وإن لم يجد حظه من البروز إلا أنه يحمل ملامح مسار العمل النشط باتجاه الحقوق والقانون، وإن كان المأمول لازال يتطلب المزيد والمزيد. ولكي لا يغفل السبب الحقيقي خلف تعطيل المشاريع النضوية وتكون قاعدة قانونية ثابتة الأركان، فلا شك أن وجود المرأة داخل أروقة صنع القرار للمساهمة بسن الأنظمة في مجتمع لازال يمارس كذبة تحريم الاختلاط التي حررت المحرمات المتالية بطلاناً وزوراً (غاليندو، 2001).

لقد رکر أعضاء معروفون في المجلس (ذكوراً وإناثاً) جمودهم للتصدي ضد الوعي القانوني التنظيمي بسعفهم المؤوب لإجهاض عدة قوانين وأنظمة ومقترنات مثل:

1. قانون الحماية من التحرش
2. مدونة الأحوال الشخصية
3. مقترن تمكين المرأة من القيادة
4. مقترن تغيير بعض أنظمة الأحوال المدنية؛ خاصة ما يتعلق بالأهلية الكلامية للمرأة باعتبارها مواطنة من الدرجة الأولى أسوة بالمواطن الرجل (ادمون ، 2013) .

سأسوق بعض الأمثلة لنشاط تلك الفتنة المعطلة للأنظمة، ليس من واقع تكهنت بل بما أفادتني به بعض العضوات الناشطات في المجلس لفضح الصورة للجميع: تم عمل مدونة الأحوال الشخصية، وعندما حضرت لإجراء التصويت عليها سعيتها رئاسة الشورى وحولتها إلى لجنة الشؤون الإسلامية، وانتهى خبرها هنالك. وهنا يمثل سلطة أولئك الأعضاء دورهم الساخن لتغيب المرأة حتى وهم يشهدون حضورها المميز وشعورها بالمسؤولية المجتمعية على أعلى حس من المهنية والعمل الجاد، تلك الفتنة التي تمارس أدلة متشددة ونظرية دونية ضد المرأة وحقوقها وما يقتضى مع حقوقها، لدرجة أن تطالب بنظام "شهرات" للمرأة العاطلة عن العمل، وكان "الأمومة" مجال صدقة يكفي الكسلى تلقنها بدون جهد مقابل. هذا المقترن عوضاً عن أنه لا يعد ضمن الحقوق المتყع تقليشاها، هو مجرد هدر مالي واقتصادي لا يتصور أن يطالب به أقل الناس وعياً فضلاً عن فتنة يفترض أنها تمثل صفة المجتمع كما يعتقد (جاكسون 1998،).

أما ما يخص مشروع (مكافحة التحرش بين الجنسين)، فقد مر بمراحل إلى أن وصل للتعطيل وبفضل ذات الأعضاء التي تسعى لتأكيد أن المشروع ما هو إلا تشريع لفرض الاختلاط، وأن الجنسين يعيش كل منها في قرى مختلفة لا يرى أحدها الآخر. فمنذ أن قدم ثمانية أعضاء مسودة نظام مكافحة التحرش، ابتدأت ضغوط حزب الرفض والتعطيل باتصالات برئاسة المجلس، وتواصل مع مؤسسات خارجه، وكتابة خطابات سرية، انتشر اثنان منها، تحفظ جريدة الحياة بنسخة منها (معدل ، 2014).

بداية قاوم المجلس هذه الضغوط فدخل النظام إلى الهيئة العامة وقت الموافقة على عرضه للتصويت الإجرائي (على الملامة). وعندما جاء اليوم الموعود لعرضه، حدث أثناء الجلسة محاولة تأخير واضحة لمناقشة البنود، وظهر للجميع القصد؛ بأن تنتهي الجلسة قبل الوصول لبند التحرش وحدث هذا بالفعل. والدليل أن أي مقترن لم يسمح الوقت لمناقشته يدرج ضمن جلسة لاحقة، وذلك ما لم يحصل، بل هيئش المقترن تماماً ولم يتم جدوته للتصويت في أي جلسة لاحقة، وظل الوضع عامضاً رغم الاستفسارات المتواصلة من بعض الأعضاء واللجنة المعنية بالمقترن وضغط الإعلام (فرازو ، 2014).

وانتهت المسرحية؛ بأن ضم نظام مكافحة التحرش مع مقترن آخر لهيئة الأمر بالمعروف والنهي عن المنكر عن "الابتزاز" ضمن نظام قديم غير مفعّل ولا علاقة له بالتحرش اسمه (الاتجار بالبشر). طبعاً؛ لا وجه لسؤال ما هو وجه المقارنة بين الاثنين؛ لأن الجواب باختصار؛ لا جواب.

لاتصلح عقول تشربت قاعدة "سد النراغ" لمنع سن الأنظمة وتقينها أن تكون عضواً بـ[النادي]، تكتفي من عضويتها بعملية التعطيل والمناكفة التالية العتيبة لمناهضة مقترنات قانونية أخلاقية، فهذه الأعضاء من فصيلة مقترن الشرهات للمرأة العاطلة واجبها أن تطبقه في حقها أولاً، ولعلها أن تقدم مقترناً لشهرات تخص معيل الأسرة أيضاً، فيليركوا كراسيمهم/ن لمن يشغلها بالوعي ضمن الواقع والرمان، لا عبر أجندات متشددة لازالت تناقش مواضيع الحاجات المعاصرة من واقع تراث فقهاء قضاوا قبل أربعة عشر قرناً.

حدث الصراع بين أعضاء مجلس الشورى من النساء مع الذكور. وتخلص هذه الدراسة إلى أن المجدود المبذولة من قبل أعضاء مجلس الشورى من النساء لم تكن فعالة في تعزيز مصالح المرأة من ظلم الرجل السعودي. ومقاومة قوية من أعضاء مجلس الشورى بالإضافة إلى أصوات الاحتجاج من رجال الدين المحافظين والجماعات النسائية المؤيدة للشرعية تصبح قاما عقبة خطيرة أمام نضال المرأة في مجلس الشورى.

الاستنتاجات والتوصيات الأكاديمية

على المرأة أن تناقش وتفتتح وتوصي. آن الأوان لأن يكون صوت المرأة مسماً داخل أروقة الدولة، شأنها شأن نصفها الآخر، فهناك العشرات من القوانين والقضايا المرتبطة مباشرةً بالمرأة، لكنها لم تكن تستطيع أن تبدي رأيها، إلا خارج السياق الرسمي لمجلس الشورى، وهذا ما يمكن القول عنه إنه أصبح شيئاً من الماضي. الأهم في الفترة المقبلة أن يكون الحراك النسووي السعودي، مرتکراً على نوعية المشاركة المقبلة لها في مجلس الشورى، صحيح أن المرأة العاملة أثبتت جدارتها في مختلف القطاعات التي عملت فيها، لكن أضمار العالم، وليس السعوديين فقط، ستكون مركزة عليها عند بدء عملها كعضو في مجلس الشورى تحديداً. عليه، فإن تفوقها وإثباتها لجدارتها وأيصالها لرسالتها، التي تمثل كل نساء المملكة، سيكون تواصلاً لقرارات أخرى مقبلة تتطرقها المرأة السعودية. وعلى المرأة السعودية، وتحت قبة مجلس الشورى، أن تناقش وفتتح وتوصي بما تراه ضروري بالنسبة لها. بالنسبة إلى فكرة سمر فطاني حيث قالت إن المرأة السعودية حصلت على حقوقها على نطاق واسع بعد تعيين الملك عبد الله عدداً من النساء في العضوية لمجلس الشورى السعودي سوف يتم تلقيها من خلال هذه الدراسة، ويطلب إجراء مزيداً من البحث.

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ISLAMIC PHILOSOPHY:THE STUDY OF PHILOSOPHY ETHICS IN VIEW OF MUHAMMAD TAQI MISBAH YAZDI AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION IN THE GLOBAL MORAL ETHIC

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Abstract: *This study is the study of the library research, lifting theme aboutthe philosophy of ethics in view of Mohammad TaqiMisbahYazdi, and its relevance to the development of moral ethics global world, in this paper, there are three important questions, first, the concept of ethical philosophy in the view of Muhammad TaqiMisbahYazdi,second, how the implementation of ethical philosophy Mubammad TaqiMisbahYazdi, and the third, what the relevance of moral development in a globalized world.By using a content analysis, and historical, to read the philosophical concept of ethics in view of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi and sosiohistoris of Tami Misbah Yazdi's life, the results of this study are, first, to understand the concept of ethical philosophy in the view of Muhammad TaqiMisbahYazdi, and the secondto know the implementation of philosophy ethics Muhammad TaqiMisbahYazdi, and the third to determine its relevance to global ethics.*

Keywords : Philosophy, Ethics, Yazdi

Introduction

Moral philosophy is a scientific assessment that is old enough as branches of another philosophy, it can be seen from the dialogue that occurs between Socrates and Euthyphro about the concept of good and bad,¹²⁴ but the

¹²⁴Euthyphro mengklaim bahwa perintah Tuhanlah yang menyebabkan suatu tindakan itu menjadi baik, kemudian Socrates bertanya kepadanya, "Apakah karena suatu itu diperintahkan Tuhan maka ia menjadi baik, ataukah karena suatu itu sendiri baik maka Tuhan memerintahkannya? Euthyphro menjawab, "Karena Tuhan memerintahkan maka sesuatu itu otomatis menjadi baik". Ia meyakini bahwa sesuatu, secara independen, tidak mempunyai nilai moral, karena Tuhanlah yang menentukan status moral pada sesuatu itu. Lihat Plato, *The Dialogues*, voll.II, (London, Oxford University Press, 1892), hlm. 93-105. Dialog ini juga kemudian menjadi perdebatan di kalangan filosof muslim antara kelompok Mu'tazilah dan Asy'ariyah, meskipun keduanya memiliki pandangan yang sama bahwa akal pikiran adalah sumber pengetahuan. Mu'tazilah dan Asy'ariyah berbeda ketika mempertanyakan sumber hukum apakah lewat akal atau syari'at. Lihat Ahmad Mahmud Shubhi, *Filsafat Etika*, (Jakarta: Serambi Ilmu Semesta, 2001), hlm.42.

moral philosophy as a science discipline that is structured and stand independently, the age is not more than a century. Many thinkers believe that this science was introduced with the publication of *Principia Ethica*, the work of a British-born philosopher, karya seorang filosof kelahiran Inggris, George Edward Moore (1873-1958) in 1903 M,¹²⁵ he was a philosopher founder of the analytic tradition in language philosophy, or commonly known as *linguistic, analysis, analytical philosophy*, or it could be called a *logical analysis*.¹²⁶

Similarly it happened in the thinking of Islamic philosophy. The discussion of moral philosophy has always been a very tense debate among Muslim philosophers, each Muslim philosophers try to analyze through serious reasoning. Although moral philosophy at first it was not touched by the reviewer and the author of the history of Islamic civilization, both classical and modern,¹²⁷ but the discussion about the moral concepts found in some of the theories that was born by the philosopher or Muslim thinkers. As Mu'tazila that is emphasizes on the role of the ratio to determine the moral concepts, otherwise Asy'ariyah tend to do not utilize a ratio to assign moral concepts. There are some names that have been widely theorized the concept of ethics, such as Ibn Miskawayh, Khwajah Nasir al-Din al-Tusi, Raghib al-Isfahani, Sadr al-Din al-Shirazi, Morteza Muthahari, and Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi. Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi is one of the Islamic philosopher who is still living in the modern age, he noticed the problems of Islamic ethics by reviewing some of the theories that have been formulated well by Western philosophers and Muslim philosophers itself. He was not dazzled by the glories

¹²⁵Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan...*, hlm. 20.

¹²⁶Dalam Islam sendiri, banyak ulama yang lebih dulu memperkenalkan pemikiran filsafat moral, namun sejumlah kalangan menganggap bahwa teori-teori filsafat moral yang ditawarkan oleh sejumlah sarjana Islam itu bercampur-aduk dengan teori-teori filsafat lainnya, seperti metafisikan, psikologi, dan 'aql fa'al (akal aktif). 'Abd al-Rahman Badawi menyatakan bahwa pemikiran tentang isu-isu moral masih lemah dan lebih mereka lebih mengutamakan nasihat dan kata-kata mutiara. Lebih lanjut, ia juga menyatakan, bahwa pemikiran filsafat moral Ibn Misykawaih, filosof moral terbesar dalam Islam yang dimiliki bansa Arab, tidak lebih dari sekedar teori-teori etika Plato, Aristoteles, Galen dan sedikit ajaran etika dalam Islam. Namun klaim ini perlu dipertanyakan, pasalnya klaim seperti itu muncul dari anggapanya yang tidak mengakui tradisi pemikiran filsafat di dunia Islam, mereka mempunyai opini bahwa kaum Muslim sudah merasa cukup dengan teks-teks suci yang menuntun langkah hidupnya, sehingga keberadaan agama Islam menghambat memunculkan pemikiran filsafat yang mandiri, dan kalaupun ada pemikiran filsafat dalam di dunia Islam tak lain hanyalah produk intelektual Aristoteles. Tentu saja, kalangan Muslim tidak sependapat dengan pernyataan ini, sejarah pun membuktikan bahwa banyak tokoh filsafat legendaris lahir dari tradisi Islam, salah satu di antaranya adalah tokoh filsafat moral, seperti Ibn Misykawaih, Raghib al-Isfahani dan sebagainya. Lihat Ahmad Mahmud Shubhi, *Filsafat Etika: Tanggapan Rasionalis dan Intuisionalis*, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2001), hlm 17-20, Rizal Mustansyir, *Filsafat Analitik: Sejarah, Perkembangan, dan Peranan Para Tokohnya*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2001), hlm. 37.

¹²⁷Ibn Khaldun, misalnya, dalam pasal enam *Muqaddimah*-nya yang membahas tentang "cabang-cabang ilmu, pengajaran, metode, dan seluruh dimensinya," secara panjang lebar menjelaskan tentang ilmu pengetahuan di tangan bangsa Arab tanpa menyinggung sedikit pun tentang etika. Demikian juga yang dilakukan Ibn Sha'id al-Andalus. Lihat Ahmad Mahmud Shubhi, *Filsafat Ilmu...*, hlm. 15.

of the theories formulated by the great philosophers who had preceded him, even he prefers to evaluate the ethical theories which he considers unsuitable or even incompatible with his logic. Although he grew up under the influence of Hikmah Muta'aliyah,¹²⁸ but his thought of philosophy tends to take a distance or critical nuanced of the dominance of *Hikmah Muta'aliyah*. Mulla Shadra tradition and Thabathaba'i are the mainstream of philosophy at the Hawzah 'Ilmiyah, where he spent a lot of time to study. He dared to offer a system and a new method of teaching philosophy, although the idea of the reform was not getting an adequate response. He is less widely accepted by the hazwah thinkers,¹²⁹ because he was better known as a thinker and a discourse than a traditional styled ulama who is seen more authoritative. Nevertheless Mishbah Yazdi is still recognized as one of the icons of thought that is reliable in facing the trend of liberal thought and the modern intellectuals who tend to challenge some of the classical views which is still maintained by the hawzah.¹³⁰

The issues of moral philosophy like the concept of good and bad, become a major theme in the literature of moral philosophy, even in theological thought. Immanuel Kant, a Western philosopher is very concerned about the study of moral philosophy and its issues, said, as mentioned by HB. Acton, "act only as maxims which the maxims you can expect it will be the maxim of the common law at the same time."¹³¹ Kant concluded that what could be called good is the action that follows the good will, and good will is an obligation to follow the maxim.¹³² Actions that impressed well can be shifted morally if it is not done by a sense of maxim duty but self-interest that it generates. An act is considered well if it was done solely because of respect for the moral law, that is obligation. Kant considers this principle as *formal principle of the will* and not as

¹²⁸ *Al-Hikmah al-Muta'aliyah* (hikmah yang memuncak atau teosofi transenden) adalah teori yang dibangun oleh Shadr al-Din al-Shirazi umumnya dikenal sebagai Mulla shadra, melalui sintesis mencakup elemen-elemen pemikiran Ibn Sina (w.1037M.), Surahwardi (w.1191) dan beberapa teolog Syi'ah terkemuka. Lihat Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi*, (Jakarta:Sadra Press, 2011), hlm. 3.

¹²⁹ Hawzah secara bahasa berarti teritori. Di lingkungan Syi'ah, *hawzah* berarti wilayah yang dijadikan pusat pembelajaran studi-studi keislaman, seperti Najaf dan Qom. Lihat Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi*, (Jakarta:Sadra Press, 2011), hlm. 4dan 7.

¹³⁰ Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 101-105

¹³¹ HB. Acton, *Dasar-dasar Filsafat Moral: Elaborasi terhadap Pemikiran Etika Immanuel Kant*, (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2003), hlm.43. Teori filsafat moral Immanuel Kant disebut dengan Deontologi. Secara bahasa, "deon" berarti apa yang harus dilakukan, kewajiban, "logos" yang berarti ucapan, pembicaraan, pikiran akal budi, kata, arti, studi tentang, pertimbangan tentang, ilmu pengetahuan tentang dan sejenisnya. Lorens Bagus, *Kamus Filsafat*. hlm 543-544. Deontologi merupakan teori filsafat moral yang tidak mengukur baik tidaknya suatu perbuatan berdasarkan hasilnya, melainkan semata-mata berdasarkan maksud si pelaku dalam melakukan perbuatan tersebut. Deontologi tidak menyoroti tujuan yang dipilih bagi suatu perbuatan, melainkan semata-mata wajib tidaknya perbuatan dan keputusan tersebut.

¹³² Maksim dalam keterangan Franz Magnus suseno diartikan dengan suara hati. Adapun dalam keterangan buku yang ditulis oleh Murtadha Muthahhari, maksim diartikan sebagai intuisi. Lihat Murthadha Muthahhari, *Falsafah Akhlak*, Terj. Faruq bin Dhiya', (Yogyakarta: Rausyan Fikr, 2012) hlm. 29.

material principle of action that depends on purpose and passion empirical. Kant claimed the law in relation with the maxims that is adopted by people, and thus considered as limiting the appropriate maxims by allowing people to act.¹³³ Maxim who do not pass the test of universalization is removed, but it does not say each maxim that is conceivably universalized is part of the moral law. From the fact that everyone can adopt the maxim at least once a day can not be concluded that there is a moral obligation to do it that way. Maxims that are contrary to the moral law can not be universalized.¹³⁴

Moral philosophy is one of philosophy that is getting a lot of attention in the classic era among the Muslim philosophers, but in its development, especially in Sunni world, moral philosophy is considered a discipline that is not interesting, even a lot of growing stigma said that studying moral philosophy is a waste of time, Islam ordered for applying a good behavior as written in the Al-Qur'an and Hadith. This tradition is not rooted in the Syi'ah world, where the tradition of developing concepts of earlier philosophers thought often carried out by Syi'ah Muslims.¹³⁵ Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi is a Iranian contemporary Syi'ah philosopher who continues to develop and criticize several theories that have been developed in the world of Islamic thought. Collisions between the two streams of Western moral philosophy, a group of relativism and absolutism addressed by Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi as two views that should be attached to different positions and one of them can not be claimed as a stream that must be accepted at any position and at any time. Mujtaba Misbah interprets the absolutism as moral law that is absolute and unbound by any terms or happenings, while relativism interprets as moral law that has requirements and are bound by certain things.¹³⁶ For Mishbah Yazdi, moral values are absolute and do not follow instinct, and a number of individual agreements, at the same time, he also acknowledged that some of the moral law is relative and is bound by certain conditions. Mishbah Yazdi sees the law of relativity has two different meanings. Relativity law could mean that the law for a tangible object that appears as the terms and conditions specified, are different and mutable. Conversely, some of the laws are absolute, ie in relation with the changes in real conditions which is unacceptable the changes. For example,

¹³³Dalam bukunya, *Critique of Pure Reason*, Kant menjelaskan bahwa pembebanan tanggung jawab moral tidak dapat dibenarkan jika individu-individu tidak bebas memilih antara bertindak dengan benar atau dengan salah, dan bahwa tidak ada kewajiban moral bagi siapa pun untuk bertindak melawan hasrat-hsrat kecuali kalau dia bebas untuk mengerjakan tindakan itu. Lihat HB. Acton, *Dasar-dasar Filsafat Moral...* hlm. 97-98.

¹³⁴HB. Acton, *Dasar-dasar Filsafat Moral...*, hlm.44.

¹³⁵Setelah serangan yang diluncurkan oleh al-Ghazali terhadap para filosof Muslim, pemikiran filsafat Islam di belahan barat dunia mengalami kemunduran. tetapi, di sebelah timur, filsafat terus mengalami perkembangan. Pendapat ini dikembangkan oleh Corbin yang mengkaji secara khusus mengenai sejarah filsafat Islam. Ada beberapa nama filosof yang dilahirkan di kawasan Timur, seperti Surahwardi, ia adalah konseptor aliran filsafat iluminasi, Mulla Shadra, Thabataba'i, Murtadha Muthahari dan sebagainya. Lihat Muhsin labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T Mishbah Yazdi*, hlm. 30.

¹³⁶Mujtaba Misbah, *Daur Ulang Jiwa*, terj. Jayadi, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2008), hlm. 102-103.

the absolute power causes the velocity of the body. Thus, some of the experimental law is absolute and the other is relative and partly bound.¹³⁷ This is very interesting, considering the debate between the two groups are often trapped in the universalization of view of moral philosophy. Yazdi Mishbah do many harmonize of the theories of moral philosophy to reconcile both of them by putting each of these theories with a different perspective, because of the single way of viewpoint to see the diverse theories will only lead to an understanding that is incompatible with the nature of that theory. Harmonization is also done by Misbah Yazdi in seeing the sense of beauty, he asserts that the beauty of it is the harmony that exists between entities objective, he recalls with regard to abstraction of conception of the good, that in it should be there is an harmony between the two things.¹³⁸ There is no clear stream to dub the theory of moral philosophy of Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi as it is common among moral philosophers of classical Greek and modern West, but his thoughts on the concepts of moral philosophy deserves the attention of academics who observes the development of thinking moral philosophy. The books written by Misbah Yazdi or any other person about his thinking is no less interesting to the philosophy of Islam in general. This background that drove the author to track the moral philosophical thought Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi as a theme in the study. Raghib al-Isfahani as one of the classic moral philosophy of Islamic thinkers with the theories developed through books *al-Dzari'a ila Makarim al-Syari'a* and *Tafsil al-Nash'atayn wa Tabsil al-Sa'adatayn*, and Immanuel Kant with his Deontologi theory serve as a reference for reading the moral philosophy thought of Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi.

The Biography Of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi is an ulama and professor of philosophy who is still alive today, he comes from a family of ulamas in the city of Yazd Iran, on 11 Bahman 1313 A.Sh,¹³⁹ or 17 Rabiul Awal 1353 Hijriyah Qamariyah

¹³⁷Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuban*,.... hlm. 194-195.

¹³⁸*Ibid*, hlm. 84.

¹³⁹Kalender Iran diciptakan Raja Cyrus tahun 530 SM, lalu dibuat lebih akurat pada tahun 1087 M (480 H) oleh ahli matematika dan astronomi yang juga sastrawan, Umar Khayyam (1048-1122), atas inisiatif Sultan Jalal ad-Dawlah Malik Syah dari Bani Saljuq, sehingga kalender itu dikenal sebagai Kalender Jalali. Tahun baru (Nawruz) selalu jatuh pada awal musim semi. Nama-nama bulan adalah Farwardin, Ordibehest, Khordad, Tir, Mordad, Shahriwar, Mehr, Aban, Azar, Dey, Bahman, Esfand. Enam bulan pertama 31 hari dan lima bulan berikutnya 30 hari. Bulan terakhir, Esfand, 29 hari (tahun biasa) atau 30 hari (tahun kabisat yang empat tahun sekali). Dibandingkan dengan kalender solar lain, kalender Iran paling cocok dengan musim. Tanggal 1 Farwardin selalu 21 Maret (awal musim semi), tanggal 1 Tir selalu 22 Juni (awal musim panas), tanggal 1 Mehr selalu 23 September (awal musim gugur), dan tanggal 1 Dey selalu 22 Desember (awal musim dingin). Setelah bangsa Iran memeluk agama Islam, tahun hijrah Nabi (622 M) dijadikan Tahun Satu, tetapi kalender tetap berdasarkan matahari. Tahun baru 1 Farwardin 1389 Hijriyah Solar jatuh pada 21 Maret 2010.

or on 31 januari 1934.¹⁴⁰ He was born from a very simple family even fairly families with low economic level, he always depend his daily life on his mother work as a socks tailor, which will be sold in a shop by his father. The results of these works are often unable to fullfill their daily needs, even his father often had to borrow some money to his neighbors. When Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi went to Najaf to continue, finalize and enhance his study, his parents sell the house and all of their business assets in order to leave for Najaf.¹⁴¹ This limited economic life does not make them drool to collect material in order to improve their economic, the strong religius values of this family instilling Mohammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi personality as one who does not tend to be materialistic, the religius spirit makes Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi as a child who likes to read some of Islamic literatures. He aspires to become a religious scholar from beginning. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi as a person who loves science gained the sympathy of teachers including the principal because of his love for science, he was almost getting the best score in his class in every exam. Ahmad Akhundi is a rohaniawan figure who plays the important role in developing the spiritual of Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi he was known as a shalih figure in Najaf, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi admires his modesty and consistency to live a spiritual life. This influence is stronger when Ahmad Akhadi encouraged him to pursue religion education totally. This encouragement made up his mind to study in Hawza 'Ilmiyah, Najaf.¹⁴² He was not only involved in the academic world, but he also played an important role in the political area. His political activity began by joining the Ulama` Awakening party (Nhzat-e Ruhaniyat) that againsts the despotic Pahlavi regime. By knowing and work with great personalities, such as Ayatullah Syahid Dr. Muhammad Husein Baheshti and Syahid Ayatullah Murtadha Muthahhari, he led the field of culture movement of the party.¹⁴³ He was appointed as the

¹⁴⁰Tahun ini berbeda dengan data yang penulis peroleh dari alamat web <http://sipencarilmu.wordpress.com/2012/01/27/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi-misbah-yazdi/> yang diakses pada 1 maret 2014, menyebutkan bahwa Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi dilahirkan pada tahun 1914, namun penulis lebih menyakini Mishbah Yazdi lahir di tahun 1934 mengingat pada tahun 1947 ia baru menyelesaikan studinya di pendidikan dasar, dan ia tercatat masuk dilembaga pendidikan itu setelah usia 7 tahun. <http://www.al-shia.org/html/eng/page.php?id=982> . lihat juga web resminya <http://www.mesbahyazdi.org/english/?biography/index.htm> atau http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad-Taqi_Mesbah-Yazdi

¹⁴¹Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Misbah Yażdi*, (Jakarta: Sadra Press, 2011) hlm. 67.

¹⁴²*Ibid*, hlm. 65

¹⁴³Dalam sejarah perjalanan Iran, keterlibatan ulama dalam politik pemerintahan bukanlah hal yang baru, pada periode Syafawi (1501-1722) ketika Syah Syafawi berhasil menyatakan dirinya sebagai keturunan langsung dari Imam, para ulama mendapatkan jabatan dalam administrasi pemerintahan pada masa dinasti Qajar (1785-1825) perilaku mereka berbalik menjadi penentang pemerintah karena dianggap melanggar keadilan imam. Demikian juga pada masa Pahlevi (1925-1979) setelah sekian lama para ulama tidak terlibat langsung dalam kegiatan sosial politik, para ulama yang di pimpin oleh Ayatullah Ruhullah Khomeini menyatakan secara tegas menentang kesewenang-wenangan rezim Pahlevi. Lihat <http://laskarimamzaman.com>.

responsible of two information media, ie Bi'tsat and Enteqam media. In 1369 HS, he was elected as a member of the Board of Experts of the province of Khuzestan election. In the last elections of the Board of Experts, he was re-elected as members representing the capital city of Teheran.¹⁴⁴ After the victory of Islamic Revolution of Iran, he started his scientific activity and new culture. By looking at something that is very important in order to make universities in Iran more Islamic and closer to hawzah ilmiyah, he became a member of the Cultural Revolution. The first attempt he had done was formed "Coordination Board of Hawzah Universities ", and this is a very significant effort in advancing the science and culture of Islam.¹⁴⁵

At seven years old, Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi began to attend primary school, and graduated in 1947 with good grades.¹⁴⁶ At the beginning of his learning, he read many books about the matters of Islamic law or fiqh, because it is his way to be able to take further education. After that he soon enrolled in hawzah ilmiyah in early summer. There he occupied one of the Madrasah Syafi'iyyah rooms with poorly maintained condition of hazwah, the buildings damage everywhere. He was a diligent and focus in doing some discussions, it can be seen from its success in completing his first study and secondary level to learn stage Rasail (*Fara'id al-Uṣūl*) works Ansari and al-makasib works Akhud Khorasani only within a period of four years.¹⁴⁷ According to Muhsin Labib, in his study, that the achievements generated by Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi is none other than the influence of al-Marhum Muhammad Ali Nuri who always took the time to teach Mishbah Yazdi in particular, besides the teachers help and his sincerity in doing the *mubahatsah*. At madrasah Syafi'iyyah he also learn linguistics (*adabiyat*) to Muhammad Ali Nahwi for four years,¹⁴⁸ some of *Syarh al-Lum'ah al-Dimasiqiyah* and *Faraid al-Ushul* to Ali Ridha, and also to Mirza Muhammad Anvari whom teach him some chapters of *Qawamin Ashul* book.¹⁴⁹ He completed his study in that city, and then moved to Najaf in order to continue his Islamic studies. At first, he plans to pursue and deepen his knowledge without being burdened by

blogspot.com/2011/02/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi_06.html. Lihat juga <http://www.al-shia.org/html/eng/page.php?id=982>

¹⁴⁴Muhsin Labib, *Para Filosof: Sebelum dan Sesudah Mulla Shadra*, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2005), hlm. 321. Lihat juga http://daralahadith.blogspot.com/2010/05/iranian-ayatullah_muhammad-misbah-yazdi.html,

¹⁴⁵Muhsin Labib,, *Para Filosof Sebelum...*, hlm. 320. Lihat juga http://laskarimamzaman.blogspot.com/2011/02/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi_06.html

¹⁴⁶Lihat <http://www.mesbahyazdi.com> diakses pada 31 maret 2014, dan http://laskarimamzaman.blogspot.com/2011/02/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi_06.html. Bandingkan dengan Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 65-66. Dalam keterangan yang ditulis oleh Muhsin Labib, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi menyelesaikan studi pertamanya pada tahun 1365-1366 H atau 1944-1945 M

¹⁴⁷http://laskarimamzaman.blogspot.com/2011/02/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi_06.html. diakses pada 31 maret 2014

¹⁴⁸<http://www.al-shia.org/html/eng/page.php?id=982>

¹⁴⁹Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 65-66.

anything so it can concentrate fully, while both of his parents will open a yarn in the new place. However, after six months of his parents worked hard, the economic condition of his parents has no progress yet as expected. Finally, after feeling there is no longer any options, they returned to their villages in Iran. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi begged his parents temporarily to live alone in the city of Najaf to continue his studies. But her parents were not willing to give permission to Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi. At the end of the month urdu behest or Mirdad early months of next year, after nearly a year studying in Najaf, he and his family left for Tehran. During his stay in Najaf he was attending Muhsin al-Hakim, Mahmud Syahrudi, Abd al-Hadi Shirazi, Istahbanati, and Abu al-Qasim al-Khui lecture.¹⁵⁰ After taking some time to stay in Tehran, then Mohammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi moved to hawzah Ilmiyah Qom.¹⁵¹ There he taught at a summer school with a salary about 60 tuman as he waited for the start of the study period. 20 days before the start of the new school, he immediately went to the Qom city to prepare all the learning needs. He followed the four subjects everyday there. In the morning, he followed the lectures of *Makasib* delivered by Murthadha Hairi at his house. After that he was reviewing the first volume book of *Kifayah* under the guidance of Abd al-Jawad at Isyq'ali Mosque and followed by discussing the material that has been taught with his colleagues. Then, in the afternoon, he was attending a lecture of

¹⁵⁰Ibid., hlm. 68.

¹⁵¹Qom adalah wilayah yang menjadi pusat studi filsafat, salah satu yang menjadi faktor adalah sumbangsih Allamah Thabathaba'i yang meletakkan dasar-dasar filsafat Islam terhadap mahasiswa yang belajar di Qom, sehingga ajaran-ajaran Allamah Thabathaba'i menjadi mazhab yang menghiasi pemikiran filsafat Qom. Sebut saja buku *Bidayah al-Hikmah* karya Allamah Thabathaba'i, yang sampai sekarang menjadi buku utama bagi filsafat bagi pelajar filsafat tingkat dasar di hawzah Qom. Qom kini telah mengalami perluasan wilayah dan dijadikan sebagai propinsi oleh Ayatollah Khamenei. Luas wilayah Qom yang kini telah menjadi propinsi 14,631 km. dari sebelah utara, Qom berbatasan dengan propinsi Teheran, dan dari sebelah timur berbatasan dengan kota Semnan, dari sebelah selatan adalah Isfahan. Kini Qom terdiri atas satu kota (ibu kota propinsi) tiga kecamatan (kota kecil) dan empat desa. Jumlah penduduknya sesuai data sensus tahun 2001 adalah 1.232.600. Karena dikelilingi oleh gurun lut dan garam, iklim Qom kering pada umumnya, dan airnya terasa asin sehingga sulit untuk dijadikan sebagai air minum. Pada musim panas, suhu di sana bisa mencapai 40 bahkan 45 derajat Cc dan pada musim dingin mencapai 3 dibawa nol. Tetapi beberapa desa sekitarnya memiliki iklim yang cukup sejuk dan pegunungan disana menumbuhkan aneka buah seperti almound, apricot, hazelnut dan chery. Arsitektur dan gaya bangunan agak berbeda dengan bangunan umumnya di kota-kota Iran lainnya. Hal itu karena modernisasi, meski saat Syah berkuasa, berjalan lambat di sana. Gaya bangunan terutama sekolah dan pusat-pusat keagamaan di sana tetap seperti abad-abad pertengahan Islam yang dibiarkan lestari, klasik, dan teduh. Lalu lintas dan tata kota sangat tradisional dan cenderung kurang terurus. Boleh jadi, hal itu disebabkan oleh pelaku penduduknya yang masih orisinil atau karena arus besar pendatang dan penziarah yang tak kunjung berhenti. Latar belakang sejarah Qom sebelum masa Islam merupakan bagian dari dinasti Sasani. 23 tahun setelah hijrah Nabi ke Madinah, kota Qom diperintah oleh Abu Musa al-Asy'ari. Ia adalah kota yang aman bagi para pengikut Ahlul Bait (Syiah) meski kekuasaan dipegang oleh Bani Umayyah dan Bani Abbas. Itulah sebabnya, banyak tokoh Ahlul Bait Nabi yang berhijrah dan wafat di sana. Seperti dua adik imam Musa al-Kazhim, Sayedah Ma'sumah dan Sayedina Ali al-Uraidhi, yang meninggalkan Madinah lalu akibat tekanan dan intimidasi para penguasa, berpindah kesana.

two-volume book of *Kifayat al-Ushul* delivered by Murtadha Hairi at his house. He spent a whole day to learn all of that lectures. In the evening, about five to six hours, he took a break and use the time to complete other works.¹⁵² At Qum, from 1952 to 1952 he followed the learning of *Babtsul Kharij* in the ushul fiqh field from Imam Khomeini.¹⁵³ At the same time he also learn ilmu tafsir and Ibn Sina's philosophical thinking and Mulla Shadra to `Allamah Muhammad Husayn Tabataba'i.¹⁵⁴ After the age of 20 years and a qualified to be welcomed in Madrasah Hujatiyyah, since then, he became acquainted with the great ulama, such as Imam Khomeini, Thabathaba'i, and Behjat.¹⁵⁵ For 15 years, he followed the lectures of Ayatullah Behjat fiqh. Since Imam Khomeini exiled out of Iran by the Shah's regime, he was busy doing research in the field of sociology of Islam, such as, about Jihad, Justice law, and the concept of Islamic government.¹⁵⁶ Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi started his profession as a teacher in Madrasah Haqqani (Madrasah Montadhiriyah). Besides forging reasoning power, ideology, and the loyalty of a number of students to be useful and be the future cadres of the Islamic government, he also teaches Al-Qur'an, tafsir, and philosophy. Subject of tafsir in three levels, coupled with a delivery time of moral and educational lecture themed know ourselves to build ourselves.¹⁵⁷ Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi also a member in lecturing about *Falsafatuna* (our philosophy) works Muhammad Baqir Shadr and *Bidayat al-Hikmah* works Thabathaba'i for 10 years.¹⁵⁸ He worked with Syahid Bahesytı and Syahid Quddusi to reveal some irregularities in the education system of hawzah, and try to improve it, enable hawzah more as a center of science and culture, as well as to make closer the relationship with the important educational institutions, such as universities. This cooperation is conducted in Madrasah Haqqani and Muntazeriyeh. His activity was increased when he was became a member of Board of Madrasah Haqqani caretakers, and in cooperation with the Foundation for Science and Culture "Dar Rah-e Haq" as the pioneer of Education Section. In addition, by teaching philosophy and Al Quran, he formed the meetings that discuss issues of aqidah and ethics, and in collaboration with publishers such as Intiqam and Bi'tsat, he tried to fight those thoughts and misguided who sought to change aqidah Islam for the sake of

¹⁵²Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 68-69.

¹⁵³Dari beliau, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi juga sangat dipengaruhi ide-ide politiknya. Ia merupakan sosok sentral revolusi Islam Iran, Ayatullah Khomeini adalah nama julukan, nama aslinya adalah Sayyid Ruhullah Musawi al-Khomeini. Beliau dilahirkan di kota Khomein pada 24 september 1902 dari keturunan langsung Rasulallah Saw dari jaluk Sayyidah Zahrah dan Imam Ali bin Abi Thalib as. *Sang Penghancur Berbala: Biografi Singkat Imam Khomeini*, (Jakarta: al-Huda). (tanpa Nama dan Tahun).

¹⁵⁴<http://www.mesbahyazdi.org/english/?biography/index.htm> diakses pada 31 maret 2014

¹⁵⁵Perkenalan ini diakuinya sebagai karunia Tuhan yang sangat besar. Ia pun menyadari bahwa kepergiannya dari Najaf ke Qom merupakan keberuntungan

¹⁵⁶Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm 70-73. Lihat juga <http://daralahadith.blogspot.com/2010/05/iranian-ayatullah-muhammad-misbah-yazdi.html>

¹⁵⁷Pelajaran-pelajaran ini dipublikasikan dalam bentuk sebuah buku dengan judul yang sama.

¹⁵⁸Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 72.

personal or obliterate Islam itself.¹⁵⁹ According to Muhsin, Misbah Yazdi is now no longer busy with lectures on philosophy teaching in educational institutions. He chose to cultivate the ethics and dedications to his environments.¹⁶⁰ Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi is a first teacher who teach *Falsafatuna*, *Iqtishaduna*, *Nihayat al-Hikmah*, then the book was used as a module. Unprecedented module Hawza 'Ilmiyah that discusses modern philosophical thinking is never exist before. In addition, it also uses the books of philosophy and methods of Tabatabaei Realism, but due to the book uses Persian language the hawzah party has not recognized it as a module.¹⁶¹

Muhammad Rajabi, one of Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi students, said the intellectualisation of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi covered in three ways. First, the reform in the context of human development and education. Second, research activities. Third, is the foresight to read and refer to works relating to philosophy, theology, and interpretation, with new ideas.¹⁶² This intellectualisation recognized by some of his students during the lecture delivered by Mishbah Yazdi, they revealed that they did not understand when all what they learn will be useful later, and then they realized that a whole series of lectures is very influential in satisfying the needs of the community of reason.¹⁶³ The M.T. Mishbah Yazdi role in dakwah education and research explained in two parts as follows, *first*, Pioneering the reform system and education curriculum of Hazwa, as follows; 1) Build *Dar Rah-e Haq* ("to the Right Way" Foundation); 2) Pioneer *Markaz-e Amozesyi va pezuhesiy-e Imam Khomeini* (The Imam Khomeini Education dan Reasearch Institute); 3) Build *Markaze Jeban-e Olum-e Eslami* (International Islamic Study Center) under hawzah; 4) pioneer the establishment of *Imam Khomeini University*; 5) Arrange manually philosophy subject with modern systematics, *al-Manhaj al-Jadid fi ta'lim al-falsafah* (New Method of Teaching Philosophy); 6) Establish in cooperation with West University, such as Mc.Gills University. *Second*, Pioneer the study of modern discourses; 1) publish a number of journals of Islamic thought, such as *Ketab-e Naqd*, *Zehn*, *Hawzah*, *Ma'refat*, *Olum-e Hadits*, *Houkmot-e Islami* etc; 2) do a critical study of the views of scholars and philosophers earlier, including Tabatabaei; 3) visit and be an international speaker at international seminars in Europe and America; 4) Incorporate the philosophy of dialogue in television shows and radio Iran; 5) Being an adjunct lecturer at various national and foreign universities.¹⁶⁴ Muhsin Labib notes that Ayatullah Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi has spawned 27 works, especially in Islamic philosophy, Islamic worldview, *'irfan*, ethics, *fiqh siyasah* (politik Islam), the science of governance,

¹⁵⁹http://laskarimamzaman.blogspot.com/2011/02/biografi-ayatullah-syeikh-muhammad-taqi_06.html. Diakses pada 31 maret 2014.

¹⁶⁰Lihat Muhammad Ma'ruf, mengenal Ayatullah M.T. Misbah Yazdi Dari Muhsin Labib, dalam <http://syiahindonesia.net/mengenal-ayatullah-m-t-mishbah-yazdi/>

¹⁶¹Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Misbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 73.

¹⁶²*Ibid*, hlm. 75.

¹⁶³*Ibid*, hlm 77.

¹⁶⁴Muhsin Labib, *Para Filosof, Sebelum...*, hlm. 325-326.

and administrative Islam. As follows, *Al-Manhaj al-Jadid fi Ta'lim al-falsafah* (New Method of Teaching Philosophy)¹⁶⁵, *Ta'liqah ala Nihayah al-Hikmah¹⁶⁶, *Syarh Nihayah al-Hikmah¹⁶⁷, *Ma'ariful-Qur'an¹⁶⁸, *Durus fi al-Aqidah al-Islamiyah¹⁶⁹, *Porsesh va Pasukh-ha¹⁷⁰, *Ta'liqah ala Nihayah al-Hikmah*, *Syarh al-Asfar al-Arba'ah* (jilid ke-1 dan ke-8), *Syarh Burhan asy-Syifah*, *Durus fi Falsafah al-Akhlaq*, *Islam wa Akhlaq*, *Rah Tusyeh*, *Be Suye Khud Syenasi*, *Pand e Jawid*, *Rahiyah e Khiye Dust*, *Tanbih dan Nezham e Aqidati wa Nenzham Arzesy ye Islam*, *Pasdari az Sangarba ye Ideologi*, *Naqdi Fesyurdeh bar Ushul e Mraxism*, *Gosteman e Rusyangar dan bareh ye Andisyeht ha ye Bonyadin*, *Nazhariyah Siyasi ye Islam*, *Nazhariyah Huquqi ye Islam*, *Tahajom e Farhangi*, *Negahi Gozar beh Nazhariyah Wilayat e Faqih*, *Mabahisi dar Bareh ye Hawzeh*, *Enteqam, Ensan wa Eslam*, *Khalqat az Nazhar e Qur'an*.*****

Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi is contemporor philosopher which is considered as the original product Hawza of Qom, he is believed to be capable of responding to discourses of contemporary thinking, including a number of modern and postmodern study of thought. As described in the previous chapter, he attempted to articulate traditionalism and modernism in the philosophical insight that is projected on the creation of a reform in the education system hawzah.¹⁷¹ He criticized the system of curriculum teaching in Qom which he said stiffly. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi focus on strengthening methodologies to offer a new methodology of teaching philosophy (*Manhaj al-Jadid fi Taklim al-falsafah/Amouzesh Falsafeh*) which spreading new ideas, especially epistemology.¹⁷² Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi with his colleagues, that is Dr. Muhammad Legenhausen, an expert who studied in western philosophy in hawzah Qom, is not just dwell on the Islamic philosophical thought, but the thought of Western philosophy also become one of the philosophy study developed in the city. A number of philosophical study center, both Islam and the West are established and managed in a modern way. Students who study in Qom philosophy not only served with the materials of Islamic philosophy, but they also get the assessments of Western philosophy proportionally. Thus they are able to compile and compare the thought of philosophers in general, so that the points out the advantages and disadvantages of each philosopher can be found objectively. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi is one of philosopher evidence of hawzah Ilmiyah in Qom who is capable of delivering heavy criticism along with his comments to the modern

¹⁶⁵Buku ini telah diterjemahkan ke sejumlah bahasa utama dunia dan dijadikan salah satu buku referensi penting dalam filsafat Islam di Barat.

¹⁶⁶Berisikan komentar dan kritik atas *Nihayah al-Hikmah* karya M.H. Thabathaba'i, gurunya.

¹⁶⁷Berisikan penjelasan terperinci atas *Nihayah al-Hikmah* (baru terbit sebanyak dua jilid)

¹⁶⁸Tafsir tematis filosofis atas ayat-ayat al-Qur'an yang berkaitan dengan Tuhan (Sembilan jilid)

¹⁶⁹Buku ini mendeskripsikan prinsip-prinsip rasional agama untuk pelajar pemula dengan pendekatan komprehensif; rasional dan tekstual

¹⁷⁰Berisikan Tanya jawab seputar *wilayatul faqih* (lima jilid)

¹⁷¹*Ibid*, hlm. 321.

¹⁷²Muhammad Ma'ruf, *mengenal Ayatullah M.T. Mishbah Yazdi Dari Muhsin Labib*, dalam <http://syiahindonesia.net/mengenal-ayatullah-m-t-mishbah-yazdi/>

Western thought. This is important given the negative postulates of the West often become his arguments that is against the rejection of modern Western thought. Now Qom as the center for the study of Islamic philosophy has scored dozens or even hundreds of religius scholar and young productive philosopher and active as a resource for local and international Islamic seminar, as well as writing books and articles in journals, newspapers, and magazines. They are quite strong and have the ability to speak a foreign language, especially Arabic and English. Most of them complete it by taking complete their formal education at the local and international universities to get the title.¹⁷³

The Terms Of Philosophy Ethics Of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi

There are three different Indonesian terminology that is used by a number of writers of moral philosophy to review the concept of good and bad, the moral, ethical and moral. In contrast to the ethics, the word moral and character, when appointed as a disciplined study of philosophy is always coupled with the word philosophy, although there are some books that unite ethics with philosophy, such as a book written by Ahmad Mahmud Shubhi entitled "Philosophy of Ethics: Response The Rationalist and Intuisionalis Islam." Apart from the use of the diversity of those three words, is a demand for the express prior understanding of all the third terminology. The first is a Moral.¹⁷⁴ According to Sidi Gazalba, in accordance with the ideas generally accepted of human action, which is good and reasonable. He concluded that it was a moral act in accordance with the size of the action is currently accepted by certain social or environmental unity.¹⁷⁵ Franz Magnis-Suseno means moral or moral lesson as lessons, advices, speeches, standards, clusters and statutes, whether oral or written, about how people should live and act so that he was a good human being.¹⁷⁶ K. Bertens in his book, *Ethics*, he explained the word derives from the Latin *mos*, which means custom or custom. He understands that the moral, etymologically, meant something very close to the word ethics.¹⁷⁷ This definition is used by some thinkers who believe that morality is a term that refers to the value of good and bad human beings in the realms of reality. For example Franz Magnis Suseno explaining that moral always refers to the good and bad human beings as human beings. The moral sphere is a sphere of human life in terms of goodness as a human being.¹⁷⁸

The second is ethics. Ethics itself is a branch of philosophy, so that the use of the word "ethics" is not accompanied by the word "philosophy". The

¹⁷³Muhsin Labib, *Para Filosof, Sebelum...*, hlm. 322

¹⁷⁴Kata "Moralis" diperkenalkan ke dalam kosa kata filsafat oleh Cicero. Baginya kata ini ekuivalen dengan kata *ethikos* yang diangkat oleh Aristoteles. Lihat Lorens Bagus, *Kamus Filsafat*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2005), hlm.217.

¹⁷⁵Abd. Haris, *Etika Hamka*, (Yogyakarta: Lkis, 2010), hlm. 33

¹⁷⁶Zaprulkhan, *Filsafat Umum: Sebuah Pendekatan Tematik*, (Jakarta: Rajagrafindo Persada, 2013), hlm. 170.

¹⁷⁷Keis Bertens, *Etika*, (Jakarta, Gramedia Pustaka, 2007), hlm. 4.

¹⁷⁸Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Dasar Masalah-Masalah Pokok Filsafat Moral*, (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 1987), hlm. 18-20.

word "ethics" comes from ancient Greek *ethikos*, of *ethos*, which means custom, disposition, inclination,¹⁷⁹ in the singular has many meanings: the usual residence, meadows, stables, traditional customs, morals, character, feelings, attitudes and ways of thinking. In a large dictionary Indonesian, ethics is explained by distinguishing three meanings, first, the knowledge of what is good and what is bad and the rights and obligations of the moral, the second set of principles or values pertaining to moral, and third, the value of right and wrong adopted by a group or community.¹⁸⁰ The establishment of ethics as a term that refers to moral theories originated from Aristotle who use these terms, which is used as a reference for the science of what is usual or knowledge about local customs then. Based on it Sidi Gazalba explained the difference between morals and ethics. Moral is practical while ethic is theoretical.¹⁸¹ Franz Magnis Suseno Gives restrictions on ethics by saying, "Ethics is man's attempt to put the power of reason and thought to solve the problem of how he should be alive if he had to be good."¹⁸² There are many moral philosophy books which refers to the term, such as *Nicomachean Ethics* works Aristotle, *Ethica Thomistica: The Moral Philosophy of Thomas Aquinas*, works Ralph M. McInerny, *Principia Ethica* works G. E. Moore, *Elementa philosophica: containing Noetica, and Ethica* works Samuel Johnson, *Ethics: Ethica Ordine Geometrico Demonstrata* works Benedictus de Spinoza, *Ethics* writing collections of moral philosophy published by Oxford University Press, *Etkhics* written by K. Bertens, *Etika Hamka*, written by Abd. Haris, *Relativisme Etika: Analisis Prinsip-Prinsip Moralitas* translated from *Ethical Relativism: An Analysis of the Foundations of Morality* book, written by Mohammad A. Shomali, and etc.

Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi itself actually uses the word akhlak as the term. He wrote his book entitled *Falsafeh ye Akhlak* then translated into Indonesian language by Ammar Fauzi Heriyadi with the title *Meniru Tuhan: Antara Yang Terjadi dan Yang Mesti Terjadi*. In his *Falsafeh ye Akhlak*, he notes the definition written by Abu Ali Misykawaih, Allamah Majlisi, Faidh Kasyani which based the understanding akhlak of the roots of the language, as a character who is strongly attached to the human spirit to perform a particular action. It seems Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi agree with the definition but he noted that this definition includes the values of noble and ignoble, hence there are two kinds of morality that is of noble akhlak and deplorable akhlak.¹⁸³ But, He also did not object to the use of the word akhlak just as a good deed and the bad is not named with the akhlak. In this paper will only lift the opinion Taqi Misbah Yazdi in three ways *first*, Human nature, in the Al-Qur'an explained that humans were created by God from the land, meaning land in this case is the beginning or the first stage. The Al-Qur'an does not explain how

¹⁷⁹Ali Mudhafir, *Kamus Etika*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2009), hlm. 197.

¹⁸⁰KBBI (Kamus Besar Bahasa Indonesia), (departemen Pendidikan Kebudayaan, 1988).

¹⁸¹Abd. Haris, *Etika Hamka...*, hlm. 34.

¹⁸²Franz Magnis Suseno, *Etika Dasar Masalah-Masalah...*, hlm. 17.

¹⁸³Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan: antara...*, hlm.2.

many stages through which the human being after the stage of the land, nor how far or how long. While scientists have argued that there are creatures shaped like humans before modern humans called Homo Sapiens. Modern humans, because new ancestral form about 40,000 years ago, while the earliest hominid fossils from the age of three and a half million years ago.¹⁸⁴ Muslims do not get information from the Qur'an about the origin of mankind, the Al-Qur'an only explain that humans are created from the ground. He is the son of the earth, from the land he grew up, from the ground anyway it was formed, and from the ground anyway he lived. There is no one else in the physical human element that has no similarities with the elements contained in the soil. Unless the soul, as God secret breathed to His servants. The human body is formed with an amazing system, the body is composed of a number of systems, each system performs a particular function and all related systems and communicate with one another through blood or nerves. There is a truss system, which helps the body and protects the internal organs, muscle system whereby there is a movement, there is a nervous system that sends signals from and to the brain, there is the digestive system, respiratory, urinary, and many other systems.

Also Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi believes that the substance or essence of man is his soul, as long as it is no humanitarian human spirit and personality remain intact by itself. Therefore, the changes that occur in humans as not to damage the physical unity of the person, because it's standard essential unity of man is his soul that one.¹⁸⁵ *Hudluri* knowledge which has been known as one of the distinctive features of Islamic philosophy, from the first presented by al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, Suhrawardi, and Mulla Shadra,¹⁸⁶ referenced as epistemology to explore human nature. He believes that knowledge *hudburi* direct contact with the nature of the form object. Therefore, he did not experience an error. As for science *bushuli*, because obtained through perceptual picture, he basically could have doubts and mistakes. Based on this premise, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi conclude as follows: first, we know the "I" in *hudluri* respectively. As our bodies known through the help of the senses. Thus, the "I" (*nafs* or soul) is not the body. Second, the "I" is the nature of which remains intact for decades with the unitary nature and identity itself. Unity and identity can be known through knowledge *hudluri* that will not be mistaken. Third, the real "me" is both simple (unstructured) who could not be broken. Fourth, warned that the whole mood such as feelings, will and in others it does not have the basic characteristics of the material, namely the existence and disunity, then we can not assume that nonmaterial things as

¹⁸⁴M. Quraish Shihab, *Dia Di Dana-mana: Tangan Tuhan Di Balik Setiap Fenomena*, (Tangerang: Lentera Hati, 2010), hlm.,111-112.

¹⁸⁵Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Iman Semesta: Merangsang Piramida Keyakinan*,terj. Ahmad Marzuki Amin, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2005), hlm. 345.

¹⁸⁶Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah M.T. Misbah Yazdi...*, hlm. 161-162.

accidents to the material.¹⁸⁷ Humans have the power of perception called intellect, and will, come from the light of reason. What distinguishes man from other creatures are in viewing patterns and the tendencies of himself.¹⁸⁸ Therefore, the real man always uses his wits to determine all the important sides of his fate. Thus, in general, he will know how to live, and then with all the seriousness of moving forward.¹⁸⁹ Human day by day unfold one by one its condition and the discovery of new innovations, because of the amazing capabilities. Humans never stop doing the motion activity and changes, since the beginning of its creation. These amazing advances are the result of human creativity associated with material things. However, the efforts to identify creative and human abilities associated with things metaphysical and supernatural not as easy as this. Often wonders metaphysical and supernatural was more astonishing than the miracles of the wonders that are material.¹⁹⁰ For Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, the human body is so amazing, it's only the existence of the substance hidden in the corpse, while the soul is the essence of a real human being. Second, Murtaza Muthahari also stated that freedom is the highest value of human values, which is above nature and human zoological material values. You can see that those who have the values and humanity are willing to endure hunger and clothes on their backs, and living under difficult conditions, so long as they are not slaves to other humans and can live a free life.¹⁹¹

In the view of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi, the human is the entity continues to climb up to the highest stage of perfection creatures. He is unique entities that enjoy relatively independent of the will and enjoy the perfect knowledge is relative. However, the instinct (*gharizah*) he was weak. He is independent in wills when compared entities underneath. Human willed in matters that are within its effort area, but human also have to be subject to the laws and the laws of nature which are outside the area of the will and freedom. Humans have freedom of choice, but not one hundred percent. He could not encroach and the will of Allah SWT as stated in the permanent laws of nature.¹⁹² Hendry Bergson (1859-1941) defines freedom as a relation between "The concrete me" and the action he does.¹⁹³ He thinks, something that causes the price of human action, so he was on the verge of flattery and insult is that

¹⁸⁷Ibid..., hlm. 299-300. Lihat juga Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Iman Semesta: Meranggang Piramida Keyakinan*, terj. Ahmad Marzuki Amin, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2005), hlm. 348-350.

¹⁸⁸Murtadha Muthahari mengatakan bahwa kecenderungan-kecenderungan dapat disusun menjadi lima bagian atau kategori. Atau setidaknya, lima kategori itulah yang diketahui sampai saat ini. Yakni, kecenderungan mencari kebenaran, kecenderungan moral, kecenderungan estetika, kecenderungan kreasi dan penciptaan, serta kecenderungan kerinduan dan ibadah. Lihat Murtadha Muthahari, *Bedah Tuntas Fitrah: Mengenal Jati Diri, Hakikat dan Potensi Kita*, terj. H.Afif Muhammad, (Jakarta: Citra, 2011), hlm. 48-55.

¹⁸⁹Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Buku Daras Filsafat...*, hlm.101.

¹⁹⁰Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Freedom*, terj. Ali Ampenan, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2006), hlm. 27.

¹⁹¹Murtadha Muthahari, *Manusia Sempurna....*, hlm.19.

¹⁹²Muhsin Labib, *Pemikiran Filsafat Ayatullah...*, hlm. 296-297.

¹⁹³K.Bertens, *Etika...*, hlm.93.

he chose his actions of many alternatives. God created man with embed various tendencies which often contradict each other, each of which attract owner in the opposite direction. However, it does not mean that where there seem to be more powerful traction, will determine the exact human action, and he did not choose and undesirable interested by it.¹⁹⁴ Humans have a strength that can be directed to exit from the state of passive surrender to restrain her desires, and control various power-actively inner appeal. Therefore, the man in charge and questioned the actions and impacts ditimbulkannya. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi understand that humans have the power to choose. Because, if human beings act under coercion of others, he was not responsible at all for such actions. According to him, the power of man to make choices and determine the decision is the fact that he realized it was palpable. Every soul knows that power is *hudluri* and surely.¹⁹⁵ He divided into two kinds of human motion, the *ikhtiyari* and *non- ikhtiyari*. According to a motion "perfected" sometimes occur naturally or naturally without a will when it has fulfilled those cases that become the terms of prevalence (required) in a form that has enough power to process the gain perfection specific, and sometimes it could be realized through the implementation of, or with, the will and choice. The second part of this can clearly be seen and known on the activity of human *ikhtiyari* and easily humans can select it, the *ikhtiyari* activity, of more natural form of activity and not based on the will.¹⁹⁶ The faith that is assumed as a justification of a mind, tantamount to pengasumsian meaning of faith itself, then it is not something that is *ikhtiyari*. Because, some kinds of knowledge gained by sense axiomatic (*badihi*). Humans do not have the option of acquiring and in doing vindication of a science. Partly from those knowledges, despite the usual acquisition through a series of preliminary nature *ikhtiyari*, but it is not a crutch *ikhtiyari* acquisition. In terms of the preliminary circuit may arise in the mind through hearing voices or seeing a line. On that basis, one would look at him without an effort but he set him right. If preliminaries which can give the knowledge realized through *iradah* and *ikhtiar*, then to acquire the knowledge they require the existence of a series of stimuli (booster factors) to arrange. This booster factors can be an instinct of curiosity or work to get the glory and happiness, material gain or also in the

¹⁹⁴Murtadha Muthahari dalam *Falsafatul Akhlak*-nya membedakan pengertian antara kecenderungan dan kehendak. Menurutnya *al-mayl* (tendensi) adalah pembangkit internal dalam diri manusia, yang merespon stimulus-stimulus eksternal. Misalnya ketika seseorang lapar, maka dalam dirinya timbulkan keinginan dan kecenderungan untuk makan. Kecenderungan tersebut merupakan kekuatan pembangkit yang menarik seseorang untuk makan. Dengan arti lain bahwa kecenderungan adalah magnet yang menyatukan antara manusia dan stimulus luar. Sementara kehendak (*iradah*) berkaitan dengan pribadi dan mentalnya, tidak berkaitan dengan dunia eksternal. Tatkala manusia memikirkan sesuatu, mempertimbangkan akibat-akibat perbuatannya, menimbang maslahat dan mafsadat dengan akalnya, saat itu ia dapat memutuskan langkah yang lebih baik menurut pertimbangan akalnya, dan bukan instingnya. Lihat Murtadha Muthahari, *Fikafat Moral Islam*, terj. Muhammad Babul Ulum dan Edi Hendri M (Jakarta: al-Huda), hlm. 49-50.

¹⁹⁵Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuban: antara...,* hlm.147-149.

¹⁹⁶Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Jagad Diri...,* 21.

form of the pleasure of Allah. and only the final part of this that can be called worship. However, this form of worship as surely must be preceded by an introduction to Allah.¹⁹⁷ Raghib al-Isfahani analyze psychologically the appearance of human action. The decline in human behavior emerged through stages ie: started from *shanih* (track mind), *khatir* (idea), from both of them, the *iradah* (will) appears then *hazm* (dream) and the last appear in the form of '*amal*' (action). Till *hazm* (dream), each stages before, become the cause of the stages later *shanih* (flashed on the mind) born *khatir* (idea) and so on.¹⁹⁸

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi closely looked at this accountability relationship with freedom,¹⁹⁹ He said there are three conditions that need to exist in accountability. The first is the ability to do and leave liability, then if the action required of the limits of human capability and capacity, of course, no one is morally responsible for such acts. Based on it, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi believes *taklif bima la yuthaq qabih*, that orders and to impose something that can not be borne are bad. God is a substance-wise, does not require actions that are outside the capabilities of His servants. The second is knowledge and awareness. Someone just found responsible for an inappropriate action and extolled or morally discredited therefore, when he was able to do and know the value of that action. The third is a choice and free will, then any action that became a result of the action of force, not a deliberate act and the perpetrators are not responsible for these actions at all.²⁰⁰ According to him, if people do not have free will, of course he has no responsibility, tasks, commands, prohibitions, rewards and torment. Even people can express the futility of this natural system, without any goal in it, the creation of this universe is to prepare a suitable land for the creation of man in order to achieve perfection and her closeness with Allah SWT. So he deserves his grace, by running various obligations Divine consciously and freely.²⁰¹ Then he said that

¹⁹⁷Ibid, hlm. 130.

¹⁹⁸M. Amril, *Etika Islam...*, hlm. 238-239.

¹⁹⁹Kaum *Jabariyah* menolak kebebasan pada diri manusia, mereka meyakini takdir dan ketetapan Tuhan adalah tak terhindarkan, dan manusia tidak mungkin menerima kehendak bebas. Mereka mengatakan takdir ketentuan Tuhan adalah benar, tetapi mereka tidak mencakup kehendak bebas manusia. Artinya, mereka menegaskan batas tertentu bagi takdir yang dilakukan secara tidak sukarela. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi menganalisis konsep bahasa takdir yang sering menjadi sandaran kaum determinasi itu. Menurutnya, takdir adalah kata benda tertentu, yang secara harfiah bermakna mengukur, dapat juga bermakna mengukur sesuatu atau menemukan ukuran sesuatu. Mengukur dan mengukurkan adalah takdir ilmiah, yaitu mengukur sesuatu sementara menemukan ukuran sesuatu adalah takdir material. Jadi mengetahui bahwa *qadr* dan *qadar* berarti sebuah ukuran, dan takdir berarti mengukur, atau mengetahui ukuran benda, dengan makna versi lain “menemukan suatu benda dengan ukuran tertentu”. Al-Qur'an mengatakan *dan Dia telah menciptakan segala sesuatu dan menetapkan ukuran-ukurannya*. Di sini takdir digunakan untuk segala sesuatu. Lihat selengkapnya Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Filsafat Taubid: Mengenal Tuhan Melalui Nalar dan Firman*, terj. M.Habib Wijaksana, (Bandung: Mizan, 2003), hlm. 274-275.

²⁰⁰Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan: antara...*, hlm. 144-146. Lihat juga Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Freedom...*, hlm. 92-93.

²⁰¹*Taklif* dalam ideologi kaum Syi'ah merupakan bagian dari keyakinan tentang ketuhanan. Kaum Syi'ah menyakini bahwa Allah Swt. tidak membebani hamba-hamba-Nya, kecuali setelah

human has four forms of responsibility, ie: responsibilities toward God, responsibility to self, responsibility towards others, responsibility for nature. Responsibility towards God by utilizing the favors rendered, and he is entitled to account for all kinds of human behavior. Perhaps, the greatest responsibility after the Lord is the man's responsibility to the trustees of his, even though the responsibility of the latter is in the shadows or extension of responsibility to Him, as the responsibility of parents are derivatives and the shadow of responsibility to God. Then the responsibility for themselves. The human soul has dimension and potential of all kinds, where one another are interrelated and each has certain rights which have a typical range of responsibilities as well. Each member body and the human mind has certain rights that would, as emphasized in verse and history, must be held accountable on the Day of Judgment. Furthermore, responsibility towards others. In Islam, every individual in addition to be selfless and responsibility against him, he is also responsible for each other and their communities. Two major religious duties, ie, *amar makruf nahi mungkar* parallel to the importance of prayer, fasting, pilgrimage and jihad, clearly explains the importance of the responsibility for it. Of course, the real claimant of responsibility is the Lord, for he establishes obligations upon them all. The latter is the responsibility towards nature, whether in the form of animals or plants. Humans are not entitled to carry out any action in the environment. He was not entitled to treat the animals as they pleased, because animals also have rights that must be met by the owner.²⁰²

third, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi divided the universal concept in three types. First, Essential Concepts. This concept is universal concepts abstracted sense after grasping the concepts particular. That is, the human mind automatically abstracting the essential universal concept of some particular knowledge acquired from the senses or intuition. The essential concepts and could have a person assigned to all of them. The essential concepts explained basic or essence (the limits of existential) objective reality.²⁰³ Like the concept of man who understood the permanent and steady aspect in man and not see as man of its existence and its accident, as this can be changed and partial or phenomenal. The essential logic refers to the distinctive properties that must be possessed by humans. Aristotle identifies the meaning of the essence with forma (*eidos*) as the cause.²⁰⁴ The concept of men are after making contact with

memberikan *hujah* kepada mereka, dan Allah Swt. tidak akan memberikan *taklif* kepada manusia kecuali berupa suatu yang mampu mereka emban dan sesuai dengan potensi serta dipahami. Sebab, menurutnya, sungguh zalim jika Dia memberikan *taklif* kepada orang yang tak berkemampuan dan tidak mengetahui *taklif* tersebut. Lihat Muhammad Ridha al-Muzhaffar, *Ideologi Syiah Imamiyah*, terj. Ali Asghar Assegaf,(Pekalongan: al-Mu'ammal, 2005), hlm. 36, dan Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Iman Semesta: Meranggang Piramida Keyakinan*,terj. Ahmad Marzuki Amin, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2005), hlm. 133-134.

²⁰²Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan: antara...,* hlm. 164-167.

²⁰³Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan...*, hlm. 24.

²⁰⁴Avicenna, mengenai hal ini, membedakan antara Allah dengan yang lainnya. Dalam Allah esensi dan eksistensi identik. Sedangkan dalam semua yang lain keduanya berdiri sendiri dan berbeda. pembedaan ini berawal dari al-Farabi, dikembangkan oleh Avicenna, ada dalam

several entities, or the concept of white obtained after perceiving one or more entities that are white. But there is also an entity that is not obtained and abstracted sense of knowledges sensory, abstract sense of intuitive insights and presentif, such as mental concepts and universal concepts abstracted from conditions of psychological and spiritual forces.²⁰⁵ Second, Logic concept, which is a universal concept that only describes the characteristics mental concepts. This concept does not apply and can not be predicted on the outside entities. Logical concept does not deal with any objective reality. The emergence of this logical concept is first of all mental capture essential concepts, then he observed the essential concepts, from the observation that he found the unique attributes accompanying the essential concepts. The attributes that is what we call the logical concept.²⁰⁶ The basic characteristics of logical concept is enforceability solely on mental concepts. Logical itself is a deductive argument is formally valid and the premises are all true, and therefore the conclusion must be true as well.

Third, Falsafi concept, namely the concept of a human obtained by observation sense of some things and compare them. Generally, these philosophical concepts to explain the relationships between those entities outside and the distinctive characteristics of its existence. The basic characteristic of philosophical concepts are explained in terms of character and existential entities and obtained through a comparative sense and its research on two or more. This philosophical concept is similar to the concept of logical, its existence only on the mental, but its entry in the concrete realities outside. While the difference between the philosophical concept of the essence of the concept is that the essential concept to explain the limits of the essence of the entities, while the philosophical concepts to explain the character and terms eksistensial these entities. Essential concepts acquired sense only preceded by one or more particular perception, while the emergence of philosophical concepts, in addition, also need their sense of observation and comparison between entities and relations between them. For example, reasonable compared with the heat of the fire, and observed relationships between them, are dependent relationship to the reality of reality hot fire. In this sense, any sense capture the concept of cause of the fire and the concept as a result of the heat. Had comparative observations and thus it does not do any sense. A thousand times saw the fire and touch the heat, without any rational comparison and observation on the relation of both, undoubtedly cause and effect, as two philosophical concepts, it will not appear in human mental screen.²⁰⁷ Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi wrote three views on the emergence of the concept of moral sources. The first is the view which believes that the

Bonaventura, dan dipertahankan forma klasiknya pada aquinas. Lihat Loren bagus, *Kamus Filosofat...*, hlm. 215.

²⁰⁵Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuban...*, hlm.25.

²⁰⁶*Ibid*, hlm. 25.

²⁰⁷*Ibid*, hlm. 26-28.

moral concepts as reality. In the eyes of this concept is regarded as moral entities perceived by sense or intuition. Meaning both on a moral act exactly as beautiful there in entities that feels (*sensible*). The beauty of a flower is a reality that captured the human senses. Beautiful meaning thereby also be found in some human action. In the logic of the positivist that a word or text spoken by just to release emotions or are intended to give pleasure to the people who produce words or the text. They believe that many moral language which has no meaning at all, if the meaning of the text can be understood cognitively.²⁰⁸ In line with this view, figure existentialism Max Scheler (1874-1928) using the method of Husserl's phenomenology in revealing the nature in the form of the theory of experience, ethics, philosophy of culture, religion, and values. About the latter, he said that the value is designated by feelings and emotions embody priori. Value is not an idea or a dream, but a concrete that can only be experienced with a soul that vibrates, that is with emotion. According to him, reason can not see the value, because the value appears if there is a sense directed at him.²⁰⁹

The second is the view which believes that the concept of moral as imposition (konvension, *i'tibari*). For this group moral concept has nothing to do with objective reality. Moral concept is nothing more than laying and conventions based on the subjective will of the founder, just as imperative sentences that do not explain an outside.²¹⁰ This view followed by two great mazhab ie, those who believe that faith in the theory of the will of God, such as Asy'ariyah in the Islamic thought, and socialists. The sosiologists believe that the source of the emergence of moral concepts that are common sense or the collective consciousness, while according to the Lord's command theory believe that moral concepts are the commands and prohibitions God who created them. Both are commanded by God and the poor is something that is forbidden by God.²¹¹ The view of the theory of command of God in Islam developed by Asy'ariyah challenged by his opponent, the Mu'tazilah, although both of them have the same view on the sources of knowledge, that is reason. Mu'tazila and Asy'ariyah have different opinions when questioned about the legal source. According Asy'ariyah, that source of law is Syari'at, while Mu'tazila considers that the law can be obtained through the intellect. This theory also implies a difference to the source of good and bad deeds of man, adherents Asy'ariyah judging that the source of good and bad is the Syari'at, while according Mu'tazila, as a school of rationalist view that good and evil lies in the

²⁰⁸Dalam kajian bahasa, logika ini dikembangkan oleh mazhab performativisme yang meyakini bahwa teks itu tidak lebih dari sebatas ekspresi diri. Lihat Jogre J.E. Gracia, *A Theory of Textuality: the Logic and Epistemology*, (Statement of New York Press, 1995), hlm. 19-20.

²⁰⁹Agusni Yahya, dalam Zubaedi dkk., *Filsafat Barat: Dari Logika Baru Rene Descartes Hingga Revolusi Sains Ala Thomas Kuhn*, (Yogyakarta: Ar-Ruzz Media, 2007), hlm. 132.

²¹⁰Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuban...*, hlm. 37.

²¹¹*Ibid*, hlm. 37-38.

character of the act itself, so moral values are inevitable and universal. The task is man who must find the objective truth.²¹²

The third is a view which believes the concept of moral intuition. They believe that moral concepts that are fitriah, intuitive, intrinsic and imprinted on human nature, so the perception of moral concepts is the human character.²¹³ One of the important figures of this view is Immanuel Kant.²¹⁴ He believes that the only action that truly deserve moral designation is an action that a sense of duty, the action taken since the obligation is perceived as true, and not for any other reason.²¹⁵ Kant obligations are obligations arising out of conscience is not an obligation that comes from outside himself.

Harmonisation As The Implementation Of Philosophy Ethics Of Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazic

In Kant's deontology theory, there are two imperatives,²¹⁶ ie the categorical imperative and hypothetical imperatives. The categorical imperative is closely related to his testimony about the acts of obligation.²¹⁷ Amin Abdullah affirmed that the categorical imperative is universal, rational and inevitable. Any act which is driven by conscience without going through the process of loading certain calculations absolute moral significance. While the hypothetical imperative, which is an obligation that consideration and calculation according to him is a particular and conditional.²¹⁸ Kant distinguishes between the formal aspects and the material aspects of human morality. He endorses the material aspect of human morality, since the material aspect is the charge of real morality is historical, and changing from one place to another. While the forms of morality are universal, autonomous, and objective. Forma morality, which can only be understood from the perspective of intellectual and rational, more emphasized by Kant as this aspect is absolute. The material aspect of morality is not absolute, because it will be different and

²¹²Ahmad Mahmud Shubhi, *Filsafat Etika: Tanggapan Rasionalis dan Intuisionalis*, (Jakarta: Serambi, 2001), hlm. 42-43. 128.

²¹³Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan...*, hlm. 39

²¹⁴HB. Acton, menyebutkan bahwa yang menjadi sumber moral Kant adalah *Maksim*. Frans Magnis Susena menyebutkan apa yang dikatakan maksim oleh Acton ini adalah suara hati. Kant mengatakan *Berbuatlah hanya karena maksim yang dengan maksim itu kamu pada saat yang sama akan dapat membuat tindakanmu itu menjadi sebuah hukum universal*. Lihat juga Hendry Hazlitt, *Dasar-dasar Moralitas*, terj. Cucuk Ananta Wijaya, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003), hlm. 184.

²¹⁵Hendry Hazlitt, *Dasar-dasar Moralitas*, terj. Cucuk Ananta Wijaya, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2003), hlm. 179.

²¹⁶Kant membedakan “perintah” dan “imperatif”. Perintah adalah asas objektif sejauh mengharuskan kehendak subjektif. Sedangkan imperatif adalah bentuk putusan dari perintah, dirumuskan dengan ‘seharusnya’ (*Sollen*). Lihat F. Budi Hardiman, *Filsafat Modern: Dari Machiavelli sampai Nietzsche*, (Jakarta: Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2004), hlm. 147.

²¹⁷HB. Acton, *Dasar-dasar Filsafat Moral: Elaborasi Terhadap Pemikiran Etika Immanuel Kant*, (Surabaya: Pustaka Eureka, 2003), hlm. 32.

²¹⁸M. Amin Abdullah, *Antara al-Ghazali dan Kant: Filsafat Etika Islam*, (Bandung: Mizan, 2002), hlm. 152.

often contradict each other.²¹⁹ Thus the moral concepts are not all considered to be absolute or relative. Kant provides criteria with categorical imperative moral absolutism and moral relativism with hypothetical imperatives. Then Kant said that human actions are not based on an obligation of conscience, but according to the moral values of the material referred to legality.²²⁰ Although Kant was impressed not recognize actions as a material aspect of morality, but he did not put it as an act of immorality. The concept of legality raised by Kant into the middle terms between morality and immorality which claims to be a universal concept.

Raghib al-Isfahani in his analyzes, said that moral statement like good or bad contain two categories, *muthlaq* (hakiki) dan *muqayyad* (conditional). *Muthlaq* moral statement is adalah moral statements that are not limited by space and time in this term could be called the moral absolutism, such as moral statement "fair is good." The concept of fair as well a *muthlaq* category would have the same meanings in different places and spaces. Likewise *dhalim*, is a *syarr muthlaq* action, because everyone healthy minds would not want the deed. Otherwise *muqayyad*, like *jujur*, is in addition to having good intrinsic meaning, in which there is also bad qualities, depending on the surrounding conditions. In a state of "honest" reveal a meaning as an appreciable act, like when people ask about a person's condition aims to establish a relationship with that person, on different conditions, "honest" could have a value that is not commendable. Like when people ask for the purpose of crime act, then answered honestly, being he knows the destination people are asking, then the meaning of honest-looking is improperly.²²¹

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi rate the same as what was presented by Immanuel Kant and Raghib al-Isfahani regarding moral concepts. Kant concludes moral absolutism departed from the concept of imperative maxims while Raghib al-Isfahani saw absolutism and relativism in terms of meaning contained in the moral language, while Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi analyze these two streams of the essence of the moral philosophy. He puts a moral category as a matter of absolute, but absolute understands it includes two things: the finite and infinite. Limited moral absolutism is moral concepts that always is good or bad while there are no reasons to change it. "Honest" under normal circumstances is an absolute good, he can not be called an act of bad. Meaning good in honest words are not delivered in the locality particular culture, as well as views of Western madzhab of moral relativism. This is what

²¹⁹Ibid, hlm. 151.

²²⁰Kant membedakan "tindakan yang sesuai dengan kewajiban" dan "tindakan yang dilakukan demi kewajiban". Yang pertama ini, bagi Kant tidak berharga secara moral, disebut dengan legalitas, sedang yang kedua bernilai moral dan disebut dengan moralitas. Semakin sedikit pamrih seseorang untuk menunaikan kewajiban, semakin tinggihlah nilai moral tindakan itu. Sebuah tindakan moral yang luhur adalah tindakan yang dilakukan demi kewajiban *an sich*. Lihat F. Budi Hardiman, *Filsafat Modern...*, hlm. 146.

²²¹Lihat M. Amril, *Etika Islam: Telaah Pemikiran Filsafat Moral Raghib al-Isfahani*, (Yogyakarta: Pustaka Pelajar, 2002), hlm. 216-218.

distinguishes the understanding of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi relativism by Western relativism. Then absolutism is not limited, he is a moral concept that has only one meaning, is not limited to space and time. Oppressors are an act of bad moral absolute in itself does not store the meaning of kindness.

Although Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi believes that all moral values are absolute and do not follow instinct and deal a number of individuals, at the same time he also acknowledged that some of the moral law is relative and is bound by certain conditions. In law, he said, relativity has two different meanings, it could mean that the law for the real subject appears as the terms and conditions, are different and mutable. Conversely, some of the laws are absolute, ie, in connection with the act of real conditions did not accept the changes. For example, the absolute power of causing the velocity of the body, so most of the experimental law is absolute and some are relative and bound. According to him, some moral statements are absolutes, and others are relative. As an example repeated from the beginning, the statement "fair is good", "praising God is commendable", is absolute. Meanwhile, the statement "killing people is bad" tied to mistakes and cons of justice. He sees a moral statement that there is not necessarily relative as a whole, and not all moral statements are absolutes.²²²

Kant established two kinds of decision, namely the decision analysis and synthetic decision. First, decision analysis, he is the verdict of the predicate is already contained in the subject, so that the predicate only an analysis of the subject alone. For example, in the verdict "All objects are breadth", the concept is simply glosses over the breadth of the concept of matter. Second, the synthetic decision is the decision that the predicate is not contained in the subject, so that the predicate is new information. For example, in the verdict "All the objects are heavy" weight concept does not load on the concept of matter, so not the descriptions above. Decision pure a priori analysis, while the synthetic judgment is a posteriori, so-called synthetic a posteriori.²²³ "Fair is good", in Raghib theory adil as *khair muthlaq*, is an example of an analytical judgment in Kant's theory, where the predicate (well) already contained in the subject (fair), the title of "good" only an analysis of "fair". While the "honest is good" in Raghib theory called *muqayyad*, according to the decision of a priori synthesis of Kant, categorized as a decision synthesis. "Good" in the decision is the predicate is not contained in the "honest", so that the predicate is new information. Like Kant and Raghib, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi stated that not all moral statements are relative and not all of them also was absolute.²²⁴ In contrast to different impact, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi looked at the consequences of moral action could be taken into consideration to assess the status of moral action. He understands that the value of the

²²² Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan: Antara Yang terjadi dan Yang Mesti Terjadi*, terj. Ammar Fauzi Heriyadi, (Jakarta: al-Huda, 2006), hlm. 194-195

²²³ F. Budi Hardiman, *Filsafat Modern: Dari Machiavelli...,* hlm. 134.

²²⁴ Lihat Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi, *Meniru Tuhan...,* hlm. 195.

common good should be a consideration in determining whether a moral action. Therefore, he rejected the moral absolutism that did not pay attention to the impact. Moral statements, such as "fair is good", according to him, this statement is absolute that the fair is good, is not limited to space and time. Because this statement is not bound by the conditions that surrounded him. The consequences arising from this moral statement was always giving positive effects on individual and social life. While some people claim to justice ruling legal authority lies in the perception of the meaning of justice, not the essence of fairness. For example, an old woman who does not have a treasure anything, and he was forced to take cassava people he met in the courtyard of the people, then the owner of cassava that took him to court and demand justice for dijebloskannya to prison through chapters puncuriaan, and the judge was forced to decide accordingly with clause applies. Then when people know these events, they are simultaneously suing justice. Then the lawsuit was not located on the essence of justice, but the justice system practiced by the state authority institutions. As a result, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi understands moral statements "fair is good" it is different with "honest is good", and moral statements are absolute atau relative can be investigated through the resulting impact.

Actually, Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi openly rejected moral relativism and moral absolutism want to defend. He said:

*"Moral relativism is a doctrine that can not be accepted, because his thoughts contains the basics that can not be maintained and arguments are fragile and meaningless, in this section, we want to defend the moral absolutism. Absolutism claims is that moral values -at no legal basis values that include space and time, standards have intrinsic and permanent"*²²⁵.

However, claims of moral absolutism that met flawed demanding repair buildings such moral philosophical thought. In his description, he said that not all statements of moral absolutes. This indicates that the moral absolutes that's not all true, moral relativism is the answer to the weakness of most of the moral absolutism. Then harmonize these two schools is the right way to improve it. He wanted to show that there are alternatives that can read diverse statuses of the moral, namely articulate harmoniously the two streams. During these two madzhab of thought are considered two theories that face each other or independence which can not be uttered much less integrated, although both of these madzhab have the weaknesses and the strengths. It negotiates harmoniously both of them that will enhance each other, and it was done by Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi. Perhaps there is a comment that the ideas of Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi are not original, the article he just retell about the ideas of moral variety already exist. For the author, the attempt to formulate moral theories by filtration moral theories that already exist into a separate theory can not be considered a simple matter, because he could be called as an original moral thinker. Such models are also often carried out by thinkers

²²⁵Ibid., hlm. 190-191.

before, because it has become a tradition in the world of thought. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi sees the human soul as a substantiation which has a high level, with it human has potential knowledge of *hudluri* which is able to recognize the nature of the object form. Humans also have other media to capture the reality around them through perceptual picture, this kind of knowledge is called with *hushuli*. Although the fit is not as *hudluri* knowledge, but *hushuli* knowledge plays an important role for human in perceive the concepts of universal and particular. The power of human perception called by reason distinguishes human from other creatures. Therefore, the real human always uses his wits to determine all the important sides of his fate. Thus, in general, people will know how to live, and then with all seriousness to move forward.

Conclusion

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi sees moral character as strongly attached to the human spirit that humans perform one action without reasonable consideration automatically. As fiqh, al-'Ulum al-Qur'an, kalam and so on, he expects moral philosophy as an integral part of Islamic knowledge, given that Islam is very thick with moral teachings. Muslim community should see that it is a fundamental and logical to regard moral philosophy as a moral foundation. Moral actions are considered a good action by a person may be essentially a bad action, or conversely, bad actions considered a good action. Then to ensure the action, whether it was bad or good to be traced through philosophy. Indeed Al-Qur'an and al-Hadits has describe widely the moral good and bad through the stories of the past, or through commands and prohibitions addressed to mankind. However, it should be noted that is not all moral issues of contemporary moral specifically mentioned in the Al-Qur'an. Not reducing the perfection of the Al-Qur'an as a guide to human life. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi awaken us to see the role of moral philosophy as the basis of moral understanding is correct, so the meaning of moral concepts in real life according to what is meant by the teachings of Islam. *Hudluri* knowledge recognized by him as the most promising knowledge, convinced Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi about human nature. He believes that the spirit in human is human nature, as long as it is no humanitarian human spirit and personality remains intact by itself. Therefore, the changes that occur in humans as not to damage the physical unity of the person, because the standard of the essential unity of man is his soul that one. He believes that knowledge *hudluri* direct contact with the nature of the form object. Therefore, he did not experience an error. However, he also does not preclude other types of knowledge, namely knowledge *hushuli*, although this kind of knowledge can have doubts and mistakes.

Power sense of human perception in the form of a human virtue than any other of God's creatures. Therefore, the real man always uses his wits to determine all the important sides of his fate. By doing so, he will know how to live and seriousness in moving forward. Humans never stop moving from the

motion activity and changes, since the beginning of creation. These amazing advances are the result of human creativity associated with material things. Human willed in matters that are within its *ikhtiar* area, but humans also be subject to the laws and the laws of nature which are outside the area of the will and freedom. Humans have freedom of choice, but not one hundred percent. He could not encroach and will of God contained in natural law permanently. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi understands that humans have the power to choose. Because if human performs an action under the coercion of others, he was not responsible at all for such actions. Human forces in dropping the selection and decision making process is the fact that he realized it was palpable. Every soul knows that power is *hudhurly* and surely. Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi interprets the meaning of freedom in three forms, namely: freedom as autonomy, freedom as free will, and freedom as minimal attachment. According to him, if people do not have free will, of course he has no responsibility, tasks, commands, prohibitions, rewards, and torment, without any purpose in it. Therefore, the creation of this universe is to prepare a suitable land for the creation of man in order to achieve perfection and her closeness with Allah SWT. Thus, he deserves his grace, by running various obligations divine consciously and freely. Through *hudluri* knowledge, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi rejected the Western epistemology, as well as dismantle mistake epistemology developed West, is also the perspective that he considered less appropriate. The first is erroneous view which believes that the moral concepts as reality. The second is the view which believes that the concept of moral as imposition (convention, *i'tibari*). The third is a view which believes the moral concepts as instinctive. They believe that moral concepts that are *fitriah*, instinctive, intrinsic and imprinted on human nature, so the perception of moral concepts is the character of human. The first view, he said, the validity of the beauty of the objective on human actions raises many polemics, because of the assumption that the action was something that objective would only be true and valid when we associate with things that terindra and imagined in the mind, but not with things that occurred and intellectual, the beauty of it, is no objectivity. For him, the essence of the beauty of it is the harmony that exists between entities objective. While the latter view is expressed as the determination of moral concepts, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi said that is not all moral statements are not imperative. While the view of the third, he said, stating that the human mind from the beginning to bring a series of knowledge, both perceptually, abstractual, or are both of whom are invalid. According to him, no one ever found it, intuitively, the concepts and knowledge-pure a priori knowledge, gained prior to the efforts and contacts empirical, and before he reached the level of intellect and mental perfection.

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi explained that the concept of good and bad can be approximated by the ratio. Because, if reason can not judge good and bad then vote as a good God commands and prohibitions as bad, can never be ascertained. He believes that the moral philosophy and religion have a strong bond, religion as a source of moral and philosophy as a medium to

analyze moral concepts. Thus, they can not be separated even crushed. Regarding the difference of opinion between groups who believe absolutism and moral relativism, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi takes a stand to harmonize the two, the article both have disadvantages and advantages of each. He stated that not all moral values are absolute, or vice versa, but there are concepts that are absolute multak and there is also the concept of morality is relative depending on the conditions that surrounded him.

Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi's position in this case tends to Raghib side than the Kant's point of view. Although he acknowledges the moral absolutism but he rejected Kant worldview that does not consider its impact. For him the implications of the action have an important role in determining the moral category. It also differs from Kant in defining the meaning of absolutism. According to him, absolutism is divided into two types, ie, finite and infinite, while Kant is not the case. For him, the meaning of absolutism is absolute moral action, while action arose solely because the obligations were not for the purpose, ambition, trends and the like. He believes that the obligations of conscience can be accepted by all people as a whole. Muhammad Taqi Misbah Yazdi agrees with Raghib al-Isfahani in view the moral concept. He understands the concept of moral divided into two forms namely conditional and universal. Understanding conditional and universal in its understanding does not like the concept of relativism and Western absolutivism. As Raghib, Muhammad Taqi Mishbah Yazdi understand universal moral conditional and is not determined by time and place, but on the implications raised by the moral act.

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